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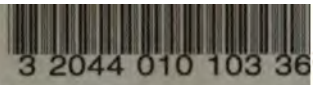
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AHMED IBN HANBAL

AND

THE MIḤNA.

A BIOGRAPHY OF THE IMÂM INCLUDING
AN ACCOUNT OF THE MOḤAM-
MEDAN INQUISITION CALLED THE MIḤNA,
218—234 A. H.

BY

Melville
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LIBRAIRIE ET IMPRIMERIE
GE-BEVANT
E. J. BRILL
LEIDE — 1897.

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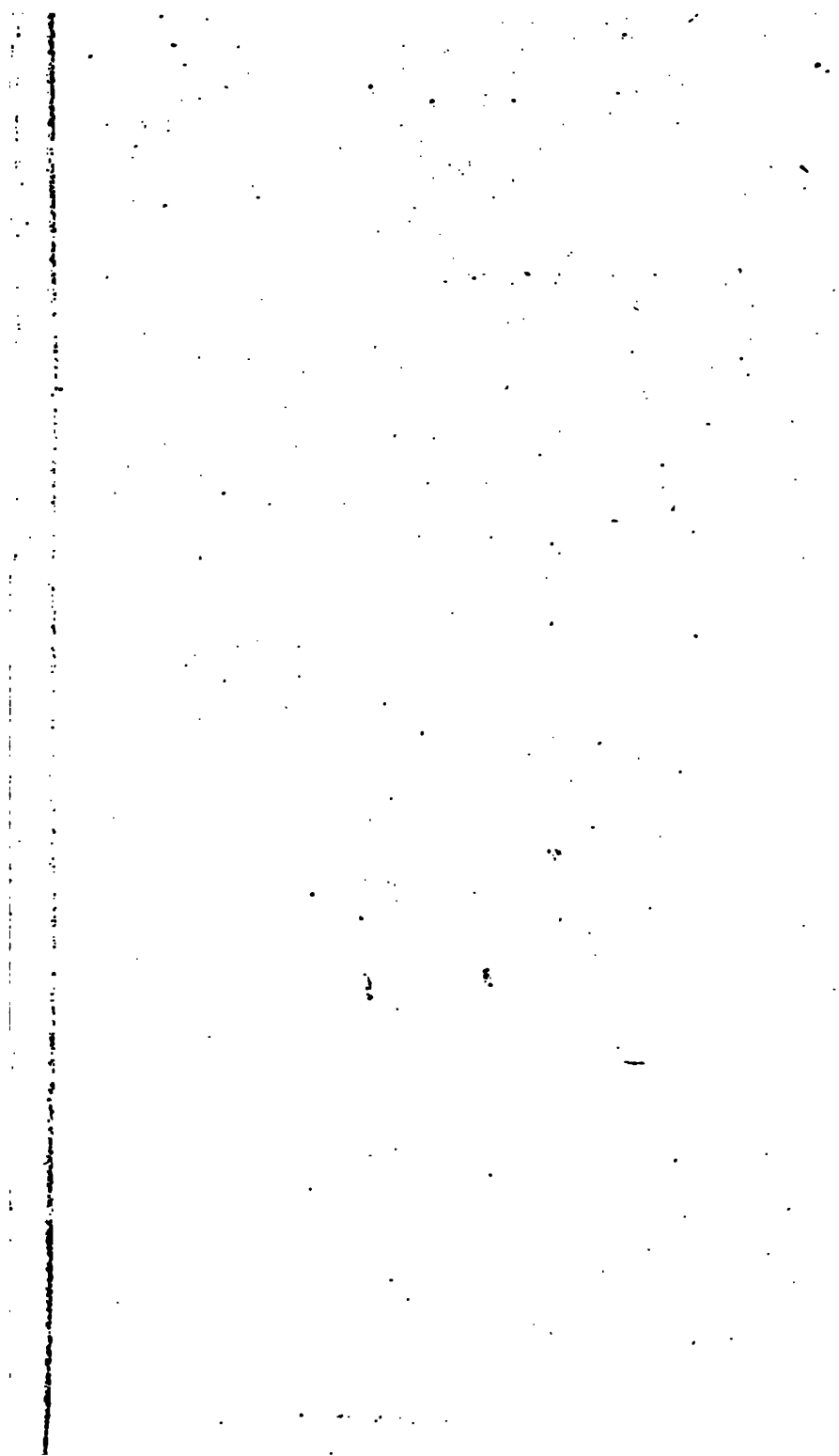
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AHMED IBN HANBAL
AND
THE MIHNA.

TO MY WIFE.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The following pages contain the record of the Imâm Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and of a struggle¹⁾ with which he stood connected, whose issues were so great as to warrant a close study of all that is involved in the movement. The history of Dogma in Islâm as written by Western writers has given us an idea of the questions which were being disputed at this time, and the outward history of events has recorded in very meagre outline the most important public occurrences of our narrative; but there has been, so far, no use made of the rich opportunity presented in the biography of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal to see the theological controversies of Islâm in their connection with the outward history of the State. This kind of historical study is the more interesting, because from it we are enabled to understand [the relation of the State to religion at that time, and the place occupied by religion and its teachers in the State.]

1) The Mihna. This term, meaning in general usage a 'testing' or 'trial', whether by the accidents of fortune or the actions of men, is often used, (together with the VIII Form of the verb مَحَنَ) with reference to a religious test with a view to obtaining assent to some particular belief or system of beliefs. We find this special usage largely illustrated in the records of the Mu'tazilite inquisition, the account of which is to appear in the sequel. It is also found in the accounts of the Orthodox inquisition under the Khalif Kâhir 200 years later. Most commonly, the whole persecution extending from the year 218 A. H. to 234 A. H. is called the Mihna.

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Y A A N E I

We have referred above to the issues of the Miḥna, as the persecution inaugurated by al-Ma'mûn is called. The importance of them lies in the fact that they settled the orthodox character of Islâm for all following ages; and in the preservation of orthodoxy lies the preservation of Islâm itself, in our judgment.) Had Rationalism succeeded in bringing about by persecution a general abandonment of orthodoxy, it is probable that the principle of free thought, without recognition of authority, would have had a disintegrating effect within Islâm itself, and would have made it much more susceptible to modifying and reforming influences from without; so that, in time, we should have seen standards of faith and life, which contravene our reason as the Korân and Tradition do, given up for something more satisfying to reason and moral judgment. We need not enter into the question whether any good came from the preservation of orthodoxy, further than to say that if Islâm was to continue to be Islâm, to preserve orthodoxy was the best way to accomplish such a result.

We ought to give Rationalism credit for having asserted the principle, un-Islâmic though it be, that thought must be free in the search for truth. The abuse of free-thinking, however, in a love of speculation for speculation's sake, and in an inordinate desire of controversial victory is, in the history of this period, abundantly exemplified.

Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal during his whole career subsequent to the death of the Imâm al-Shâfi'î (204 A. H.) was the most remarkable figure in the camp of Mohammedan orthodoxy, and during the course of the Miḥna did more than any other individual to strengthen the resistance of his party to the repressive efforts of the Khalifs and their officers. He stood for the standing or falling of orthodoxy in its time of trial; and there is little exaggeration in the statement, made more than once concerning him, that 'all men were looking to him for an example, that as he decided on the test as to the Korân being applied to him, so they might follow'.

We have some interesting circumstantial evidence of

Ahmed's position and influence among the people from the way in which he was treated by the Khalifs. Al-Ma'mûn had made up his mind to cite him to appear with the first seven men to whom he put the test, but even the violent bigot Ahmed ibn Abû Dowâd the Chief-Kâdî advised his master not to summon him, doubtless recognizing that success with the seven men would be much more difficult should Ahmed be with them, and feeling that the result of their trial would better determine whether or not it would be wise to attack one greater than they. Al-Ma'mûn's letter to his governor in Baghdâd after the latter had examined the doctors treats with gentleness Ahmed ibn Hanbal, when one reads what he had to say about most of the other doctors there alluded to. In the case of al-Mu'tasim, we must bear in mind that he did not scourge Ahmed until he had exhausted every means to save him, by threats, arguments and entreaties. He declared that had al-Ma'mûn not ordered him to deal with him and such as he, he would have had nothing to do with the infliction of the punishment. Furthermore, the scourging took place in the court-yard of the palace unknown to the mass of the people, who stood outside waiting for the announcement as to how the trial had ended. As soon as they suspected that their Imâm was being tortured, there was a tremendous excitement; and it seemed as if the ~~Khalif's palace~~ would become an object of assault, when al-Mu'tasim had Ahmed's uncle 'Ishâk brought out, and ~~had this man~~ falsely intimate to them that he had not harmed his nephew in the least. To make himself still more secure against the danger of a popular uprising, al-Mu'tasim kept Ahmed within the precincts of the palace until the evening, and then dressed him up in gala costume and sent him under cover of dusk to his dwelling. We may consider it as significant of Ahmed's standing among the people that there were no further attempts to coerce him during the remaining fifteen years of the Miḥna, though we are assured that he was active in teaching and as popular as he ever had been, or even more

so. Al-Wāthiq's treatment furnishes some evidence to shew how he regarded Aḥmed's influence. We are told that, despite the urging of Ibn Abū Dowād, he would not cite Aḥmed for examination before him, but sent word to the Imām to remove from his country; a good proof that Aḥmed had great power with the people. The biographer adds that he does not know whether the Khalif refrained from dealing with Aḥmed because of admiration for his steadfastness, or because of fear that evil consequences might come upon him should he lay violent hands upon so holy a man. For al-Mutawakkil we need say little here. His attention to Aḥmed and the messages which he sent him point clearly to his popularity and influence.

The religious sentiment in the Muslim populace had not much sympathy with the loose views and free living of the liberal teachers. Hence it was that they idolized as they did a man like Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. His intense devotion to the things most venerated and cherished by the people: God, the Prophet, the Korân, the Tradition, the Sunna of the Prophet, and the Communion of the Faithful, endeared him to the mass of the common folk. He was, also, a remarkable example of an effort which always excited reverence in the breast of the Muslim, namely, the effort 'to bring himself near to God and thus secure a good reward from him'. Those who are familiar with the stock expressions of Mohammedan piety will understand what this means in the case of a sincere and earnest religionist. Judging by the record of a host of extravagant visions of blessedness in Paradise which men had of the Imām Aḥmed after his departure from the world, one cannot doubt that all good Muslims believed him to have obtained even more than the good reward for which he had hoped.

That Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal has come to be regarded as the founder of the Ḥanbalite Madhhab, or School, is not to be wondered at, though it is not because of any intention on his part, as far as I can see. He was a great saint and defender of orthodoxy, and it is due to this fact that his pupils and

admirers, after his death, sought to give form to their master's teachings and compacted themselves into a sect or school of theology. I do not believe that Ahmed himself had the idea that such would occur. That a school was formed spontaneously is a testimony to the powerful impression of the man's personality upon his own age and that following. The things which the Muslims reckon to Ahmed's praise are his personal life, his intensely orthodox teaching, and his maintenance of his teaching in the face of persecution. He was learned in only one direction, that is, in the Korân, Tradition, the Consensus of usage and opinion among the Faithful. These things he knew thoroughly; of worldly learning he does not appear to have had any great store. The kind of knowledge he had, supplementing great courage and firmness and much natural shrewdness, was his effective weapon in the controversial warfare which he had to wage. Ahmed's great book the Musnad is the best monument to that knowledge in which he especially excelled. It exercised such an influence, in itself and in the works derived from it, for the maintenance of Tradition in its worthy place as a basis of theology, that its author's career ought to be known. We will then see the real life which was so steadying in its effect upon Mohammedan religious thought, and which was but followed up in its effect by the book which it produced.

Some native biographers and historians have noticed the man and the persecution in which he suffered for his faith with too flattering recognition of Ahmed's worth and services. Others whose interest is more secular and who record, for the most part, only the outward events of civil history have often passed over the religious movement of Ahmed's time with little or no notice. But there is a significance about the man and the movement which the greatest of the chroniclers, such as Tabari, have not been slow to recognize. Abu'l-Mahâsin, who professes to be writing the annals of Egypt, but whose interest in religious persons and events is evident on almost every page of his work, has done full

justice to the general course of events in connection with the Miḥna and to the public career of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal.

In the narrative which follows, I have sought to give the connected story of my subject's life from its beginning to its close. The account expands, however, at that point where his life becomes a factor in the public history of the time, in order that we may have a fair impression of the whole course of religious events then transpiring, and may, also, see more clearly Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal in the arena where he, more than elsewhere, won for himself that great fame which has placed him among the chief heroes and saints of his faith.

It should be remarked that European writers have too often written their accounts in a spirit of antipathy toward the orthodox theology of Mohammedanism, and have given more than a due share of commendation to the Mu'tazilites (Rationalists). They were, it is true, advocates of the freedom of thought, but were, none the less, in many cases, too self-indulgent and pleasure-loving to be credited with the highest moral aims or earnestness. It is doubtful whether, in most instances, their championship of free thinking was from any lofty conception of what constitutes true freedom. It would appear to be rather the motive of convenience that moved them to take the course they took. They preached the gospel of Freedom because they felt the Law and the Commandment to impose an inconvenience upon them, so that they could not do as they wished. All praise is due to the sincere men who loved freedom and sought it as the right of every man, but the sequel will shew not many of such men in that field of history which it covers.

The characters of the four Khalifs al-Ma'mûn, al-Mu'tasim, al-Wâthik and al-Mutawakkil will receive some additional light from the narrative which follows; as a result, probably that of the first and last named will receive a different judgment from that which has been passed hitherto. [A]l-Ma'mûn, the scholar and patron of scholars, the first free-thinking Khalif who took a real interest in religion, will be more fully discovered as a man intolerant toward those who

differed from him, even to the degree of becoming an intense persecutor. As to his liberal tendencies, it is not likely we shall find any reason to change our judgment. He had a quick and very capable mind, and hated to be fettered. He believed he had the right to think to the full extent of his opportunity, and to make opportunity for mental ranging where he had none. Had he stopped at this point, he would have presented to us a record of great service to his fellow-men accomplished by moral means; but when he rejected what he deemed a spiritual tyranny, only to turn spiritual and physical tyrant himself, the pure quality of his early aspirations is for us sadly spoiled.]

Al-Mutawakkil is a Khalif whose character cannot possibly be what European historians have made it out to be — darker than the plague of darkness itself. He was orthodox, but his treatment of liberals will easily bear comparison with his predecessors' treatment of the orthodox theologians; while the attitude he assumed toward Ahmed ibn Hanbal does not present to us a man without redeeming qualities. It is not to be understood that we condone his terrible treatment of individuals, and the gloating satisfaction with which he sometimes related his own barbarities. Nor would we soften terms over his treatment of Jews and Christians. But the man was a fanatical religionist, and many of his deeds must be viewed from the religious standpoint to a greater extent than they have been heretofore.

It will be seen that, in regard to some other points, I have indicated in a footnote here and there a difference of opinion from some of the modern authorities whose works have been consulted. But, none the less, I avail myself of the present opportunity to say that the books of scholars like Steiner, von Kremer, Houtsma and Goldziher have been of great service to me, and that I am fully appreciative of the service their contributions have rendered to our knowledge of that period of Mohammedan history with which my sketch professes also to deal.

In my work I have derived most of the material used

from three manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden; 1) Cod. 311*a*, which, with its companion Cod. 311*b*, represents the 5th and 4th vols, respectively, of a five volume Ms. of the *حلية الأولياء* or *حلية الأبرار* of Abû Nu'aim Aḥmed ibn Abdallah al-'Ispahânî (d. 450). 2) Cod. 73*a*, which was not in the University collection of Mss. at the time that Dozy prepared his Catalogue, and is, therefore, not described. Its companion volume, Cod. 73*b* Gol., is however described. The two volumes form together one transcript of the work of Tâju'd-Din Abdu'l-Wahhâb ibnu'l-Subki (d. 771), entitled *طبقات الشافعية*. 3) Cod. 1917, which is likewise not described in the University Catalogue, but will be found in the Catalogue of Landberg, "Catalogue de Manuscrits arabes provenant d'une Bibliothèque privée à el-Medina et appartenant à la Maison E. J. Brill, Leide", p. 53, Cod. 188, Aḥmed el-Maqrizî († 845) *منائب أحمد بن حنبل* *Autographe de l'auteur*.

The biography of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal in Abû Nu'aim is found pp. 138—161 and in al-Subki pp. 132—143. I have made most extensive use of the former of these two, as being the most detailed and circumstantial account of my subject's life. It is the oldest account of the three, and shews that fact in the amount of gossip and personal detail which it records, and which the later accounts have omitted. The narrative in al-Subki affords a great deal of matter touching Aḥmed's part in the Miḥna, but not so much for the biography before and after that time. Al-Maḥrizî's contribution is almost sure to be a portion of his Mokaffa, and is a good piece of biographical writing, well-arranged, concise in expression, and covering fully the life and relations of Aḥmed. Considered as a literary production, it is a better account than that of Abû Nu'aim, because of its compactness and system; but, for one who is gathering materials to compose a sketch having itself a similar purpose to Maḥrizî's, as might be expected, the more diffuse narrative of Abû Nu'aim, with its accumulation of traditional accounts bearing on many minor points in Aḥmed's career, has much more to offer.

As is pointed out in a footnote Ṭabari's Annales have been followed for the letters of the Khalif al-Ma'mûn. The same source, also, has afforded some useful information touching matters of more public interest during the progress of the Miḥna.

My endeavor has been to use the materials gathered from these and other sources in such a way as to make many witnesses contribute each something complementary to the testimony of his fellows, and yet have the whole convey the impression of a continuous narration.

To my greatly esteemed Professor, Doctor M. J. De Goeje, Professor of Arabic in the University of Leiden, I am indebted for direction, advice, and encouragement without which it would have been impossible to have accomplished the result that is here presented. I am very thankful to him for this, as also for his great courtesy as Interpres Legati Warneriani in placing at my disposal the three manuscripts which have been used in the preparation of the work.

Leiden, Feby 4th, 1897.

WALTER M. PATTON.

AḤMED IBN ḤANBAL AND THE MIḤNA.

I.

Aḥmed's Birth and Family Connections. Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal was born in the month of Rabi' the first, 164 A. H. ¹⁾. The home of his parents was in Khorasân ²⁾. His father Moḥammed ibn Ḥanbal was one of the descendants of a captain in the Abbaside army in Khorasân which fought to overthrow the Omayyads ³⁾. The family left Khorasân to take up residence in Baghdâd, however, and Aḥmed was born a few days or months after their arrival in the latter city ⁴⁾. We are not informed what family his parents had beside himself, and in none of the sources of information to which I have had access is there, excepting of a brother of his father's, 'Ishâk ibn Ḥanbal ⁵⁾ and a son of this man, Ḥanbal ibn 'Ishâk ibn Ḥanbal ⁶⁾, any mention of a relative of his father's or his own generation. His lineage was of pure Arabic stock ⁷⁾ from the family of Shaibân of the great tribe of Bekr ibn Wâ'il. Aḥmed is rarely called 'ibn Moḥammed', the name

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, Dhahabî, Liber Class. 8, N°. 18, Abu'l-Maḥâsin I, 735 ff.

2) Jâcât II, 777.

3) Abû Nu'aim, Leiden Ms. 311 a, 150 b, وكان ابوه من أبناء قواد خراسان

4) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, Dhahabî, Liber Class. 8, N°. 18, Al-Nawawî, Biog. Dicty. p. 171.

5) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 771.

6) Abu'l-Maḥ. II, 76; cf. p. 26, l. 5 infra.

7) Al-Maḥrîrî, Leiden Ms, 1917, p. 1, واصله من العرب قل يحيى بن

معين ما رايت خيرا من احمد ما افتخر علينا قط بالعربية ولا ذكرها

of his paternal grandfather taking the place of that of his father, probably from the fact that the latter died at thirty years of age while his son was still in infancy. On the death of the father, the responsibility for Aḥmed's care and training devolved upon his mother, whose name and history we do not know ¹⁾).

Years of Study and Teachers. We are without any details of his early years and know merely that he continued to reside in Baghdād until the year 179 A. H. In this year, when fifteen years of age, he began the study of the Tradition ²⁾. He first went to the lecture-room of Abdallah ibn al-Mubāarak, who came to Baghdād for the last time in 179 A. H. He was too late in going, however, as Ibn al-Mubāarak had left the city to take part in an expedition to Tarsus ³⁾. Mālik ibn 'Anas, too, died in the very year in which Aḥmed began to study; and the latter used to say that he had been deprived of Mālik ibn 'Anas and Hammād ibn Zaid, but that God had given him in their place Sofyān ibn 'Uyaina and 'Ismā'il ibn 'Ulayya ⁴⁾. His first teacher was Hushaim ibn Bashīr al-

1) That Aḥmed's father did not die before his boy was born will appear from the following: Abū Nu'aim, p. 138, *وتوفى أبوه محمد بن حنبل*

وله ثلثون سنة فوليت له أمه قل أبى كان قد ثقب أذننى الخ

2) Dhahabī, Lib. Class. 8, N°. 18.

3) Abū Nu'aim, 138, *وكان ابن المبارك قدِم في هذه السنة وهي*
آخر قدِمَة قدِمها وذهبت إلى مجلسه فقالوا خرج إلى طرسوس فتوفى
سنة إحدى وثمانين

Abdallah ibn al-Mubāarak d. 181 A. H., al-Nawawī Biog. Dicty 136.

4) Al-Maḥrizī, p. 2, *وكان رحمه يتأسف على عدم اجتماعه بالامام*
ملك لان ملك رحمه توفى السنة التي طلب الامام احمد فيها للحديث
وهي سنة تسع وسبعين ومائة فكان يقول فأتى ملك فأخلف الله

Sulamī, to whom he went in the year 179. With Hushaim he studied in this year and, then, to receive more particular instructions in difficult traditions, he continued to study with him three years longer and part of a fourth year up to the time of Hushaim's death, which occurred in the year 183 A. H. From Hushaim's dictation he wrote the كتاب الحج, containing about 1000 traditions, a part of the تفسير, the

قصة and some minor writings. He is said to have learned from this teacher in all more than three thousand traditions ¹⁾. For the study of tradition he visited Kûfa and Baṣra, Mecca, Medina, Yemen, Syria and Mesopotamia ²⁾ and among the other teachers under whom he studied were Sofyān ibn 'Uyaina († 198), 'Ibrāhīm ibn Sa'd († 183), Yaḥya ibn Sa'id al-Kaṭṭān († 198), Waki' († 196), Ibn 'Ulayya († 193), Ibn Mahdī († 198), Abd al-Razzāk († 211), Jarīr ibn Abd al-Ḥamīd († 188), al-Walīd ibn Muslim († 194), 'Alī ibn Hishām ibn al-Barīd, Mu'tamar ibn Sulcimān († 187), Ghundar († 193), Bishr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal († 186), Ziyād al-Bakā'i, Yaḥya ibn Abū Zā'id († 182), Abū Yūsuf the Kāfi († 182), Ibn Numair († 234), Yazīd ibn Hārūn († 206), al-Ḥasan ibn Mūsā al-'Ashyab († 209), 'Ishāq ibn Rāhawaih († 238), 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī († 234), and Yaḥya ibn Ma'in († 233) ³⁾.

على سفيان بن عيينة وثابتى حماد بن زيد فأخلف الله على
اسماعيل بن عليّة

[كل أبو الفضل صالح] كل أبى وكتبت عن ، 139 ، Abū Nu'aim, 1

هشيم سنة تسع وسبعين إلا أنى لم اعتقد بعض سماعى ولمناه
سنة ثمانين واحدى وثنتين وثلاثة ومات فى سنة ثلاثة وثمانين
كتبنا عنه كتاب الحج نحو من ألف حديث وبعض التفسير والقصة
وكتبنا صغارا كل قلت تكون ثلاثة آلاف حديث كل أكثر

2) On the subject of travelling about to acquire a knowledge of traditions cf. Goldziher, Moh. Studien II, p. 176.

3) Cf. al-Nawawī Biog. Dict. I, 14 f.; al-Subkī, p. 133; Dhahabī, Lib. Class. 8, N°. 18. Dhahabī adds Bahr ibn 'Asad. Abū'l-Mah. I, 638, makes Kubaissa

He studied with al-Shâfi'i the Fik̥h and the 'Usûl al-Fik̥h ¹⁾. We do not know much of the history of Aḥmed until the year 218 A. H. is reached. In that year the Miḥna was begun by the Khalif al-Ma'mûn and Aḥmed comes at once into prominence. He must have been studying with Abû Yûsuf the Kâfi before 182 A. H. when Abû Yûsuf died. His personal intercourse with al-Shâfi'i began in 195 A. H., when the latter came to Baghdâd, and lasted till 197 A. H., when al-Shâfi'i went to Mecca. After a break it was renewed in Mecca, and after that, probably, for a brief space of time in Baghdâd, when al-Shâfi'i returned there for a month in 198 A. H. before finally taking his departure from 'Irâk ²⁾. We know that Aḥmed was in Baghdâd in this year. Wakî' ibn al-Jarrâh he knew very intimately before his death in 197 A. H. Aḥmed had such familiarity with this man's traditions that he gave his son liberty to take any of Wakî's books that he pleased, and told him that, if he would give him any tradition whatever from it, he would give him the 'Isnâd for it, or, if he would give him the 'Isnâd, he would give him the tradition. Wakî' had his tradition from Sofyân from Salama, but Aḥmed seems to have been able to add to his own teacher's knowledge in respect to the traditions of Salama ³⁾. With Sofyân ibn 'Uyaina he studied in Mecca

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ibn 'Oḳba one of Aḥmed's teachers; I, 681, Khalaf ibn Hishâm al-Bazzâr; I, 715, 'Ismâ'îl ibn 'Ibrâhîm ibn Bistam; I, 734, Kûtaiba ibn Sa'îd ibn Jamîl. By Shahrastâni Wakî' and Yazîd ibn Hârdn are classed as Shyites, Haarbr. Trans. I. 218.

١) al-Makrizî, p. 2, واجتمع بالامام الشافعي رحمه واخذ عنه الفقه واصوله

٢) De Goeje, Z. D. M. G. XLVII, p. 115; Ibn Chall. N°. 569.

٣) al-Subkî, p. 132, وقيل قتيبة بن سعيد كان وكيع اذا كانت العتمة اريد ان اتقى عليه حديث سفيان قال مات قل تحفظ عن سفيان عن سلمة بن كهيل

before 198 A. H., in which year Sofyân died. We have no means of fixing the exact date when he studied with Sofyân. It was, no doubt, on the occasion of a pilgrimage, for Aḥmed performed the Hajj five times in all¹⁾. It was also during the residence of al-Shâfi'i in Mecca, in all likelihood, for we have it recorded that 'Ishâk ibn Râhawaih on two occasions disputed there with al-Shâfi'i during Aḥmed's residence there, and it would seem also in his presence²⁾.

The following incident is characteristic of the man. While in Mecca, Aḥmed's clothes and effects were stolen during his absence from his lodgings in the hours when he was engaged in study with his teacher (Sofyân). On his return, the woman of the house told him of the theft, but his only enquiry was as to whether the writing-tablets had been preserved. On learning that they had, he asked for nothing more. Still, owing to the torn state of his clothes, he was forced

كذا قل نعم قنا يحيى فيقول سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول قنا عبد الرحمن
فيقول وعن سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول انت حدثنا حتى تفرغ من سلمة
ثم يقول احمد فتحفظ [عن] سلمة كذا وكذا فيقول وكيع لا يياخذ
في حديث شيخ شيخ قل فلم يزل قائما حتى جاءت الجارية فقالت
قد طلع الكوكب او قالت الزهرة وقيل عبد الله قل لي اى خذ اى
كتاب شئت من كتب وكيع فان شئت ان تسألنى عن شىء
(المarg. الكلام) حتى اخبرك بالاسناد وان شئت بالاسناد حتى اخبرك
عن الكلام

1) al-Nawawī Biog. Dict., p. 144, l. 16.

2) al-Subkī, pp. 157, 158, روى واسحاقى رضيهما روى
عن اسحاقى بن راهويه قل كنا بمكة والشافعى بها واحمد بن حنبل
ايضا بها الخ
مناظرة اخرى بينهما فسكت الشافعى فلما سمع ذلك
احمد بن حنبل الخ

to remain away for several days from the lecture-room, until the anxiety of his fellow-students led them to seek him out and put him in the way of earning a little money to procure a change of garments. Their proffered gifts or loans he would not on any account accept¹).

Abd al-Razzâk Aḥmed first met in Mecca. On one of his

[قال أبو نعيم] حدثني أبي ثنا أحمد قال (143 هـ، 1) أبو Nu'aim،
أما علي بن عبد الله بن أحمد [ابن حنبل] من حفظه قال نزلنا بمكة
داراً وكان فيها شيخ يكنى بأبي بكر بن ساعدة وكان من أهل مكة قال
نزل علينا أبو عبد الله في هذه الدار وأنا غلام قال فقالت أمي الزم
هذا الرجل فأخدمه فإنه رجل صالح فكننتُ أخدعه وكان يخرج
يطلب الحديث فسرق قماشه فقالت له أمي دخل
عليك السرّاق فسرقوا قماشك فقال ما فعلت إلا لواح قلت له أمي في
الطابق قال وما سأل عن شيء غيرها (142 هـ) حدثنا سليمان بن أحمد
ثنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل ثنا علي بن الجهم بن بدر قال كان
لنا جار فأخرج اليما كتاباً فقال اتعرفون هذا الخط قلنا نعم هذا
خط أحمد بن حنبل قلنا له كيف كتب ذلك قال كنا بمكة
مقيمين عند سفيان بن عيينة ففقدنا أحمد بن حنبل أياماً لم نره
ثم جئنا إليه نسأل عنه فقال لنا أهل الدار التي هو فيها هو في
ذلك البيت فبحثنا إليه والباب مردود عليه وإذا عليه خلعان قلنا
يأيا عبد الله ما خبرك لم نرك منذ أيام قال سرقت ثيابي فقلت له
معى دنانير فإن شئت خذ قرضاً وإن شئت صلة فإني أن يفعل
فقلت تكتب لي باجرة قال نعم فأخرجت ديناراً وإني أن يأخذني وقال
لشتر لي ثوباً واقطعه نصفين فأوماً أنه يأتزر بنصف ويتردى بالنصف
الآخر وقال جئني ببقيته ففعلت فبحثت بهوي فكتب لي بهذا خطه

pilgrimages Yahya ibn Ma'in accompanied Aḥmed ¹⁾, and they made up their minds that, after the completion of the pilgrimage, they would go to San'ā in Yemen and study Tradition with Abd al-Razzāk. On arriving at Mecca they met with the teacher, who had, like themselves, come to perform the Hajj. Yahya ibn Ma'in introduced Aḥmed to him, and, after making known their wish to study with him, an appointment was made by Ibn Ma'in in accordance with which they should receive his instructions in Mecca instead of going to San'ā. Ibn Ma'in told Aḥmed of this and the latter asked him why he had made such an arrangement. His reply was that it would save a month's journey each way and all the expenses of the trip. Aḥmed, however, declared that he could not allow such considerations to overcome his pious resolutions, and, in the end, they did go to San'ā and received there the traditions. He suffered great hardships on the way thither, for, though offered money sufficient to enable him to travel in comparative comfort, he refused to take it and hired himself to one of the camel drivers of a caravan going to the place. At San'ā, likewise, he lived in penury and suffering, though help was tendered him such as would have secured him against anything of the kind. Abd al-Razzāk himself said that Aḥmed remained with him almost two years, and that when he came he offered him money, saying that the country was one where trading was difficult and to gain his livelihood would be impossible. Aḥmed was inflexible, however, saying that he had a sufficiency for his needs. The traditions which he had from this teacher were those of al-Zuhri from Sālim ibn Abdallah from his father and the traditions of al-Zuhri from Sa'id ibn al-Musayyib from Abū Huraira. Aḥmed was fortunate in having studied with Abd al-Razzāk before the year 200 A. H., for his reputation as a sound traditionist was impaired after that date. It is in keeping with Aḥmed's character that he should, as we are informed, have put into practice every tradition which he

1) Abū'l-Feda, Annales, Reiske ed, II. 186.

learned from Abd al-Razzâk, even to one in which the Prophet is represented as giving to Abû Taiba, a surgeon, a dinâr for cupping him. Following this example Ahmed, too, asked to be cupped and gave the surgeon a dinâr¹).

حَتَّى أَهْمَدُ حَاجَاتِ رَافِقٍ فِي بَعْضِهَا يَحْيَى بْنُ ١) al-Makrizi, p. 7, معين واتفقا على أنهما بعد انقضاء الحج يعصيان إلى صنعاء اليمن بإخذان الحديث عن عبد الرزاق فوجداه في الطواف فلما فرغ اجتماعا عليه وكان أحمد لا يعرف شخصه وإنما يعرفه باسمه فقال له يحيى بن معين هذا أخوك أحمد بن حنبل فقال حيّاه الله أنه ليبلغني عنه كل ما أسر به قُبته الله تعالى على ذلك ثم واعد يحيى الشيخ على قراءة فلما انصرفا عنه قال أحمد لابن معين لم أخذت على الشيخ الموعد فقال له يحيى قد أراحك الله مسيرة شهر ورجوع شهر والنفقة فقال الإمام أحمد ما كان الله ليبراني وقد نويت نية أفسدها بما تقول ثم سافرا إلى صنعاء اليمن وأخذ عنه بها وصح عن الإمام أحمد أنه قال ما كتبت حديثا إلا وقد عملت به حتى مرّ بي أن رسول الله صلعم احتاجم وأعطى أبا طيبة الحاجب دينارا فاحتجمت لما خرج أحمد بن حنبل, 141 هـ. وأعطيت الحاجم دينارا إلى عبد الرزاق انقطعت به النفقة فأكرى نفسه من بعض الجَمالين إلى أن وافي صنعاء وقد كان أصحابه عرضوا عليه المواساة فلم يقبل من أحد شيئا... يقول (عبد بن حميد) سمعت عبد الرزاق يقول قدم علينا أحمد بن حنبل فاهنا فقام سنتين إلا شيئا فقلت له يا أبا عبد الله جُدْ هذا لشيء دَعَاه إليه فانتفع به فإن أرضنا ليست براض متاجر ولا مَكْسَب وإنا عبد الرزاق كفّه مدحا فيها دفائير فقال لما قدم أحمد, 144 هـ. أحمد أنا بخير ولم يقبل مني ابن حنبل مَكَّة من عند عبد الرزاق رأيت به شكوبا وقد تبين

With Ishāk ibn Rāhawaih, who is called in the Kitāb al-Fihrist (I. 230) a leading Hanbalite, he corresponded for a length of time, until Ishāk took a letter of recommendation which Yahya ibn Yahya had written for him to Abdallah ibn Tāhir, and received from the latter because of it both money and high position ¹⁾).

Ahmed's When still a youth Ahmed ibn Hanbal was held in reverence as an authority on the Tradition, *Period of Teaching.* and in the assemblies of the sheikhs was looked up to with great respect ²⁾. We do not know when his most

عليه اثر النصب والتعب فقلت [اي احمد بن ابراهيم الدورقي] يا
عبد الله لقد شققت على نفسك في خروجك الى عبد الرزاق فقل ما
اهون الشقة فيما استغفنا من عبد الرزاق كتبنا عنه حديث الزهري
عن سار بن عبد الله عن ابيه وحديث الزهري عن سعيد بن
المسيب عن ابي هريرة رضى . . . قل اني [اي ابو عبد الله] ما كتبنا
عن عبد الرزاق من حفظه شيئا الا مجلس الاول وذلك انا دخلنا
بالليل فوجدناه في موضع جالسا فاملى علينا سبعين حديثا ثم التفت
الى القوم فقال لو لا هذا ما حدثتكم يعني اني [اي ابو عبد الله] قل
اني [ابو عبد الله] وجالس عبد الرزاق معمرا [مات سنة 103] تسع سنين
فكان يكتب عنه كل شيء يقلل قل عبد الله وكل من سمع من عبد
الرزاق بعد المائتين فسماعه ضعيف وسمع منه اني قديما

فدخل الحاجب, 156, p. 156, cf. al-Subkt, 144 f. 1) al-Nawawi Biog. Dict.
[الى ابن طاهر] فقال له رجل بالباب زعم ان معه رقعة يحيى بن
يحيى الى الامير فقال يحيى بن يحيى قل نعم قل ادخله فدخل
اسحق وثاوله الرقعة فاخذها عبد الله وقبلها واقعد اسحق بجنبه
وقضى دينه ثلاثين الف درهم وصيره من ندمائه

قل ابو نصر سمعت عبد بن حميد يقول, 144, 2) Abū Nu'aim,
كان في مسجد اطنه ببغداد واحباب الحديث يعذاكرون واحمد
يومئذ شاب الا انه المنظور اليه من بينم الخ

active period of teaching and literary work occurred, but he was established as the greatest traditionist of his time when al-Ma'mûn introduced the Miḥna, and continued to teach until shortly after al-Wāthiq came to the Khalifate when he was forced to give up teaching. He may have resumed teaching for a year or so after al-Mutawakkil came to power, but in 237 A. H. when he went to the camp he took an oath never to tell a tradition in its integrity as long as he lived, a vow which he appears to have kept¹⁾.

His Works. In regard to his books we know on the whole very little. He left at his death twelve loads and a half of books all of which he had memorized²⁾. The names which have come down to us are the following: كتاب العلل - كتاب الزهد - كتاب الناسخ والمنسوخ - كتاب التفسير - الفرائض - كتاب الفضائل - كتاب المسائل - كتاب الاشربة - كتاب الايمان - كتاب المناسك - كتاب الرد على الجهمية - كتاب طاعة الرسل - كتاب المسند³⁾.

The Musnad. Of one book, his great work, the Musnad, we have more definite particulars. It comprised the testimonies of more than 700 Companions of the Prophet, and was selected and compiled from 700,000 traditions (or according to another account from 750,000) and contained 30,000 (in some accounts 40,000) traditions. Aḥmed boasted that whatever was in it was a reliable basis for argument, and that what was not contained in it was not to be regarded as a sound basis. He looked upon this book as an imām which was to settle all differences of opinion about any Sunna of the Prophet⁴⁾. It has always had the greatest reputation in Mo-

1) Cf. Chapter II near the end; Chapter III near the beginning.

2) al-Nawawī, Biog. Dict. 143.

3) Kitāb al-Fihrist I, 221.

4) al-Subkī, p. 133, l. 20, الأمة هذه اصل من اصل وهو مسنده وهو اصل من اصل هذا الكتاب قد جمعته وانتقيته من أكثر من 27 ل.

سبعمئة وخمسين الفا فيما اختلف فيه المسلمون من حديث رسل

hammedan theological circles, and has been used as a basis of many smaller works and as a source of information by many authors. Its immense size and the very inconvenient method of its arrangement have, however, done a great deal to prevent its becoming much more used than it actually has been. In fact, it has been rarely mastered by any one individual, and perhaps as rarely transcribed by one person. Hence it is that, whereas there are a number of partial copies of the work, only one complete manuscript is known to-day ¹⁾.

The Musnad as compiled by Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal is no longer extant ²⁾, nor does it seem to have survived his own age; for Abū Abd al-Raḥmān Abdallah Aḥmed's son, who edited, with some additions of his own, the work of his

الله صلعم فارجعوا اليه فان كان فيه والا ليس بحجة فقال علمت
هذا الكتاب امما اذا اختلف الناس في سنة عن رسول الله صلعم رجع
اليه وكل ايضا خرج الى المسند من سبعمائة الف حديث قال ابو موسى
المديني ولم يخرج الا عمن ثبت عنده صدقه وديانته دون من طعن
[طعن] [Cod. has these points. Read طعن] في امانته ثم ذكر باسناده الى عبد
الله ابن الامام احمد رحمة الله عليهما قال سألت ابي عن عبد العزيز
ابن ابان فقال لم يخرج عنه في المسند شيئا لما حدث بحديث
المواقيت تركته قال ابو موسى فلما عدد احاديث المسند فلم ازل
اسمع من افواه الناس انها اربعون الفا الى ان قرأت على ابي منصور بن
زريق ببغداد قال آنا ابو بكر للطيب قال قال ابن المنادي لم يكن في
الدنيا ارقى عن اييه منه يعني عبد الله ابن الامام احمد لانه سمع
المسند وهو ثلاثون الفا والتفسير وهو مائة الف وعشرون الفا الح

The sum 40000 for the traditions is that given in the Kitāb al-Fihrist I, 33, l. 22.

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 466 f.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 473.

father after his death¹⁾, speaks of what he heard from his father, what he read to his father from his own copy of the original page, and what he had gathered from books and papers belonging to his father, as being embodied in the edition which he had made²⁾. In some cases he says that he 'thinks' he had a tradition from his father in such and such a form, in such and such a manner of communication, or under such and such a heading. These evidences seem to point to the absence of any book which could have been used to verify what he had in mind. The Musnad as now preserved to us is in the revised form given it by the editorial labours of Abdallah ibn Aḥmed. It is mentioned, further, that an edition of the Musnad with certain supplementary traditions by the editor was made by Abū 'Omar Moḥammed ibn Abd al-Wahīd († 345). A commentary in eighty sections making together ten volumes was prepared by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Abd al-Ḥādī al-Sindī († 1139); an epitome called al-Durr al-Muntacad min Musnad Aḥmed was compiled by Zain ad-Dīn 'Omar ibn Aḥmed al-Shammā al-Ḥalabī³⁾ and, finally, an edition of the Musnad ordered alphabetically according to the names of the Companions of the Prophet from whom the traditions take their origin was made by the Jerusalem scholar Abū Bekr Moḥammed ibn Abdallah al-Maḳḍisī: ترتيب مسند احمد بن حنبل على حروف (المعجم⁴⁾). A printed edition of the work, based chiefly on a manuscript in the Library of the Sâdat Wafâ'īya at Cairo was issued in 1896⁵⁾.

The great work according to the boast of Aḥmed himself was intended to be encyclopaedic in its aim, as far as traditions related to the Sunna of the Prophet were concerned. It apparently attempts to comprehend everything which in

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 472, 504.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 497.

3) Haj. Hal. V., 534 f.

4) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 470.

5) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 468.

the author's judgment could possibly contribute to a complete notion of what the Sunna was. All the reliable materials coming down from the Companions were meant to be included within the book. Hence, only the very broadest tests were applied to the traditions which were accepted by the author. The main criterion was that the Isnâd must be sound; that is, no man whose reputation for truthfulness or religious character was deemed unsatisfactory could be allowed to validate a tradition¹⁾. The test of conflict with clear teaching of the Prophet elsewhere found was also applied, but not with the most thorough consistency²⁾; and, finally, the duplicate traditions were excluded, though here, also, Aḥmed's practice was not uniform³⁾. In a work of such an aim we expect to find and in this work do find all kinds of traditions: those relating to ritual, legal precedents, moral maxims, fables, legends, historical incidents and biographical anecdotes⁴⁾. Furthermore, we cannot find the same order which is observed in the great collections of al-Bokhârî and Muslim. Their material was much less in quantity than Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's and much narrower in its scope. They had a purpose much more special in view, which permitted of a real system being observed. But Aḥmed's aim was simply to store up genuine traditions and nothing more⁵⁾.

In such a collection, too, as that found in the Musnad any one acquainted with the genesis of Mohammedan tradition can understand that there would appear all sorts of inconsistencies and contradictions. Such, in fact, are found in the book. Sayings are attributed to the Prophet which never could have been uttered by him. He is represented as having prescience of events occurring long after his time, and as lending his countenance to views whose later origin

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 478 & note 1); v. note 4, p. 19.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 480; v. note 4, p. 19.

3) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 481.

4) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L., 474.

5) v. note 4, p. 19.

is clearly known; opposite opinions and parties alike find their support in distinct traditions of the Musnad ¹). It might seem that there was room to question the honesty of the author who would thus leave all kinds of discrepancies in his work; but reflection will shew that a dishonest man would hardly admit or allow to remain in his compilation such things, and that the aim of Aḥmed, comprehensive and unscientific as it was, sufficiently accounts for whatever of miscellaneous or contradictory character there appears. It is quite likely, too, that the Musnad was a collection brought together during many years, and one to which labor was not continuously devoted by the compiler. In the use of the work, also, after its completion there probably was no continuity observed. He would read a portion now and a portion again, a portion to this one and a portion to that one (only three persons are said to have heard it complete from Aḥmed himself). These facts would make it difficult for him to have in mind and eye the whole work at one time, so as to perceive the mutual harmony or discrepancy of the parts of which it was composed. He, thus, might easily admit and with difficulty correct such inconsistencies as those of which we have spoken. With his aim, as we conceive it, however, inconsistencies made very little difference. He was but collecting sound traditions, and not supporting particular opinions or movements. It was not his idea to constitute himself a harmonist. Dishonesty in connection with any of the contents of the Musnad lies properly with other and earlier authorities than Aḥmed. We have no record of his having been charged with fabricating traditions during his lifetime ²). His great fault was the uncritical aim and method. Even in the Isnāds, where he was supposed to be an excellent critic,

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 478, 489 f.

2) During the trial before al-Mu'tasim it was not objected that any of his traditional arguments were unsound. When he was charged with plagiarizing a tradition (which he had not there cited), he was angry and took pains to put his adversaries to confusion. Cf. a passage in the long Arabic note in Chapter II.

he appears to have been rather liberal. There are found lists of authorities with anonymous individuals even as the first sources of the traditions cited; a few names are given credit, also, who do not stand as reputable authorities in the opinion of many theologians. In the cases of most of the latter Aḥmed, however, makes a special note to the effect that he sees no reason to refuse the traditions furnished by them. And, lastly, he favours at times the Kuṣṣâṣ, who, while not altogether discountenanced as authorities, were not held in great repute¹⁾.

Abdallah, Aḥmed's son, did his part as editor with great conscientiousness, noting carefully his own additions to the materials gathered by his father, and inserting corrections and glosses with explicit statement of his own authorship of them. The traditions which he added to the Musnad appear to have been afterwards brought together by him in a separate book which bore the title **زوائد مسند الامام احمد بن حنبل لولده عبد الله الزاهد**. In some cases where Abdallah had heard a tradition found in the Musnad from another teacher as well as his father, he wrote a note to that effect when putting in the tradition concerned²⁾.

During his lifetime Aḥmed read the Musnad to his sons Ṣāliḥ and Abdallah and to his uncle Ishâḳ ibn Ḥanbal, and they alone formed the favoured circle who heard the complete work from the lips of its author³⁾.

As may be inferred from what has been already said,

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 471 f, 478 f; Cf. De Goeje, Gloss. Belâdhori and Gloss. Fragn. Hist. Ar. **قص**. The Kuṣṣâṣ having as storytellers no very serious aim were naturally enough in discredit with serious traditionists, but it may well have been that such men actually furnished some sound traditions. According to the critical method then in vogue, the soundness of such traditions would depend upon their contents to some extent, but more upon the **Isnâds**.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 501 ff. Abdallah is said to have made additions, likewise, to his father's **كتاب الزهد**.

3) v. note 4, p. 19.

the great work of Aḥmed is not arranged with any reference whatever to the subjects of the traditions it includes. Such an arrangement is found rather in that kind of tradition-collections called Musannafs, a class of works which properly belongs to a later development of Arabic literature than these Musnads. The latter class, of which Aḥmed's book is representative, is ordered according to the earliest authorities or first sources of the traditions cited, and according to the localities where the author obtained his materials. In such an arrangement we would expect to find traditions bearing a particular colour and evincing a similar tendency brought together, according to the predilection or bias of the original authorities or of the localities made responsible for the traditions. This feature, which is almost inevitable in employing such a method, is a mere accident of the classification, and forms no part of the author's intention. Such a miscellaneous arrangement and the mass of the materials brought together made these Musnads of little general value as works of reference on account of their inconvenience, and led to such an undertaking as that of al-Maḥḍisī to bring a more convenient order into the book of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. It does not diminish the awkwardness of his work, either, that the traditions of the same primitive authority should be found, some in a section classified according to the names of the men, and others in one or more sections classified according to the places in which the materials were gathered ¹⁾).

The order of the Musnad of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, as found in the recently published Cairo edition, is as follows;

Vol. I, pp. 2—195, Traditions of ten Companions of the Prophet, including the first four Khalifs.

Vol. I, pp. 195—199, Four other Companions (principle of separate classification not given).

Vol. I, pp. 199—206, The Ahlu 'l-Bait.

¹⁾ Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 469 ff.

Vol. I, p. 206 to the end, Vol. II and Vol. III to p. 400,
The well-known Companions.

Vol. III, pp. 400—503, Traditions of Meccans.

Vol. IV, pp. 2—88, Traditions of Medinans.

Vol. IV, pp. 88—239, Traditions of Syrians.

Vol. IV, pp. 239—419, Traditions of Kûfans.

Vol. IV, p. 419—Vol. V, p. 113, Traditions of Baṣrans.

Vol. V, p. 113—Vol. VI, p. 29, The Anṣâr.

Vol. VI, pp. 29—467, The Women. (In pp. 383—403 of this section are put in some traditions *مسند القبائل* ١).

It should be carefully borne in mind that each one of the sections enumerated, as well as the whole work, is called a Musnad, e. g. The Musnad of the Meccans, the Musnad of the Anṣâr etc. ٢). Such is a general description of the long famous Musnad of the Imâm Aḥmed.

Aḥmed's Pupils. We have the names of some of those who heard the Tradition from him, among whom were his teachers Abd al-Razzâḳ, Ibn Mahdî and Yazîd ibn Hârûn. Other pupils were Abû'l-Walîd, 'Alî ibn al-Madîni, al-Bokhârî, Muslim, Abû Dâûd, al-Dhuhli, Abû Zur'â al-Râzî, Abû Zur'â al-Dimashkî, Ibrâhîm al-Ḥarbî, Abû Bekr Aḥmed ibn Moḥammed ibn Hânî al-Tâ'î al-Athram, al-Baghawî, Obaidallah ibn Moḥammed Abû 'l-Kâsim (his last pupil *آخرهم* ٣), Ibn Abî Dunya, Moḥammed ibn Ishâḳ al-Ṣaghânî, Abû Ḥâtim al-Râzî, Aḥmed ibn Abî 'l-Hawâri, Mûsâ ibn Hârûn, Ḥanbal ibn Ishâḳ, Othmân ibn Sa'îd al-Dârimî, Hajjâj ibn al-Shâ'ir, Abd al-Malik ibn Abd al-Hamid al-Maimûn, Baḳî ibn Makhlad al-Andalusî, Ya'qûb ibn Shaiba, Duḥaim al-Shâmi and his own sons Abdallah and Ṣâliḥ ٤). His method of teaching was to read the tra-

1) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 470.

2) Goldziher, Z. D. M. G., L, 472. On the Musnad cf., also, Goldziher, Moh. Studien II, 228, 230, 266, 270.

3) Dhahabî, Liber Class. 8, N°. 18.

4) al-Nawawî, Biog. Dict. 14th. The name *مخلد* in al-Nawawî's list should be *مخلد*; v. de Jong's ed. of Dhahabî's Mushtabîḥ 74, Kamûs, and Abû'l-

ditions from a book rather than recite them¹⁾. He is not known to have taught in any other way except in the case of about one hundred traditions²⁾. He adopted this method notwithstanding the fact that he had everything committed to memory and was generally regarded as being almost the first ḥâfîz of his time. On one occasion when he was delivering the tradition to some of his pupils, after they had learned it by heart, and were preparing to write it, Aḥmed exclaimed, 'the book is the best ḥâfîz' and with that he started up and brought a book³⁾. His wish probably was to verify his memoriter recitation.

Aḥmed does not appear to have taken money from his disciples, either for his services as a teacher or for the writing materials etc. which he furnished⁴⁾.

Relations For al-Shâfi'i he always entertained the most affectionate regard. His testimony to him was that *with al-Shâfi'i*. none in his day carried an ink-bottle or touched a pen but there was resting upon him an obligation to al-Shâfi'i⁵⁾. For thirty years he declared he had never prayed a prayer without offering in it a petition for his friend, and on his son's asking him what kind of a man al-Shâfi'i was that he should pray for him so regularly, he replied that al-Shâfi'i was like the sun to the world and like good health to mankind⁶⁾. Al-Shâfi'i, too, seems to have had a great

Maḥasin II. ٣٢٨. دحيم الشامي I have added from al-Subki, p. 133, l. 18, cf. Dhahabi Liber Class. 8, N°. 69.

1) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ١٢٣.

2) Abû Nu'aim, 139 a, ما (عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل) يقول

رايت ابي في حفظه حدث من غير كتاب الا باقل من مائة حديث

3) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ١٤٤, cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 196, 197.

4) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ١٤٥, cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 181.

5) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ١٢٣.

6) al-Nawawi, Biog. Dict. ٧١. al-Makrizi, p. 2, وقال الامام احمد ما صليت صلاة منذ ثلاثين سنة الا وانا ادعو للشافي كذا في الخلية

respect and affection for Aḥmed. He is said to have declared, 'O Abū Abdallah, whenever a tradition from the Messenger of God is sound in your judgment, tell it to us that we may conform to it'. Aḥmed is reported as saying that al-Shāfiʿī told him that he (Aḥmed) was more learned in the sound traditions than himself, and that his (al-Shāfiʿī's) desire was to know from him what he regarded as sound that he might adopt it. Aḥmed's son Abdallah declared that, wherever al-Shāfiʿī says in his book 'a trustworthy person told me that', or 'a trustworthy person related that to me', he refers to his father. Abdallah said, further, that the book which al-Shāfiʿī composed in Baghdād was more correct than the book which he composed in Egypt, because, when he was in Baghdād, he asked Aḥmed and the latter suggested corrections to him, but when he was in Egypt and was inclined to adopt a weak tradition there was no one to correct him ¹⁾. Al-Shāfiʿī

للاحفاظ ابي نعيم وقال الامام الغزالي في الاحياء اربعين سنة وكثيرة
بطائه له قال له ابنه ابي رجل كان الشافعي حتى تدعو له كل هذا
الدهاء فقال يا بني كان الشافعي كاتشمس للدنيا وكالعالية للناس

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد قال سمعت عبد ١) Abū Nuʿaim, 1406, ع
الله بن احمد بن حنبل يقول سمعت ابي يقول قال محمد بن
ابريس الشافعي يا ابا عبد الله اذا فتح عندكم الحديث عن رسول
الله صلعم فاخبروا به حتى ترجع اليه حدثنا سليمان (بن
احمد) قال سمعت عبد الله بن احمد يقول سمعت ابي يقول قال لي
محمد بن ابريس الشافعي انت اعلم بالاخبار الصالح منا فلما كن
خبر صحيح فاعلمني حتى اذهب اليه كوفيا كن او بصريا او شاميا
قال عبد الله جميع ما حدث به الشافعي في كتابه فقال حدثني
الثقة او اخبرني الثقة فهو ابي رحمه الله، قال عبد الله وكتابه الذي
صنفه ببغداد هو افضل من الكتاب الذي صنفه بمصر وذلك انه حيث

went to Egypt in the year 198; stayed probably two or three months and then returned to Mecca, whence he took his final journey to Egypt in the end of 199 or the beginning of 200. In 'Irâk he composed the Book of the Hajj. His first visit to Baghdâd was in the year 195; he left there for Mecca in 197 and returned for a month to Baghdâd in 198¹⁾. Al-Shâfi'i said, 'I left Baghdâd and did not leave behind in it any one greater as a fakih, or one more pious, self-denying, or learned than Aḥmed'²⁾.

Other Al-Haitham ibn Jamīl, one of Aḥmed's teachers in Baghdâd, thought highly of his pupil's authority. *Contem- poraries.* On one occasion he was told that Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal differed from him in regard to a certain tradition and his reply was, 'My wish is that it may shorten my life and may prolong Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's life'³⁾. It is worthy of note *Yazīd ibn* that Aḥmed gave apparently unreserved credit to *Hārūn*. Yazīd ibn Hārūn as a traditionist. At one time Mūsā ibn Ḥizām al-Tirmidhī was on his way to Abū Suleimān al-Jūzajānī to ask him some question about the books of Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan when Aḥmed met him and enquired whither he was going. On learning his object, Aḥmed remarked

كان هاهنا يسأل الشيخ فيُغَيَّر عليه ولم يكن بمصر مَنْ يُغَيَّر عليه
لذا نَعِبَ إلى خبر ضعيف قل وسمعت أني يقل استفاد منا الشافعي
ما لم نستفد منه

1) De Goeje, Z. D. M. G. XLVII. 115; Ibn Chall. N°. 569.

2) al-Subkī, p. 132, l. 9, حملة خرجت
من بغداد وما خلفت بها ائمة ولا اروع ولا اهد ولا اعلم من احمد
cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

3) Abū Nu'aim, 141 a, هشيم
حدث الهيثم بن جميل بحديث عن هشيم
فروم فيه فقيل له خالفك في هذا قل من خلفي قالوا احمد بن
حنبل قل وددت أنه نقصر من عمرى وزاد في عمر احمد بن حنبل

that it was a very strange thing that Ibn Hīzām should be ready to accept the testimony of three persons leading up to Abū Ḥanīfa, and yet refuse that of three authorities forming a chain of tradition to the Prophet. Ibn Hīzām did not grasp Aḥmed's meaning and asked for an explanation. Aḥmed answering said, "You will not receive the Isnād 'Yazīd ibn Hārūn in Wāsiṭ said, Ḥomaid told me from Anas, saying, the Messenger of God said'; and, yet, you receive the Isnād 'Such an one said, Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan told us from Ya'kūb from Abū Ḥanīfa". Mūsa adds that he was so impressed by the force of what Aḥmed said that he engaged a boat at once and went to Wāsiṭ to receive the Tradition from Yazīd ibn Hārūn¹). When Aḥmed himself went to study with Yazīd, on the other hand, Yazīd ibn Sa'īd al-Kaṭṭān enquired for him, and, on learning where he had gone, exclaimed, 'What need has he of Yazīd?' This was interpreted to mean that Aḥmed was more fit to be the teacher than the scholar of Yazīd ibn Hārūn²).

1) Abū Nu'aim, 144 b, (يقول موسى بن حزام الترمذى بترمذ) كنت اختلف الى ابي سليمان الجوزجاني [الخوزجاني] في كتب محمد بن الحسن فاستقبلني احمد بن حنبل عند الجسر فقال لي الى اين فقلت الى ابي سليمان فقال لي احمد العجب منكم تركتم الى النبي صلعم ثلاثة واقبلتم على ثلاثة الى ابي حنيفة فقلت كيف يا ابا عبد الله قال يزيد بن هارون بواسط يقول حدثنا حميد عن انس قال قال رسول الله صلعم وهذا يقول ثنا محمد بن الحسن عن يعقوب عن ابي حنيفة قال موسى بن حزام فوقع قوله في قلبي فاكترت زورا من ساعتي فاحدثت الى واسط فسمعت من يزيد بن هارون

2) Abū Nu'aim, 140 a, (عبد الله) سمعت ابي يقول كنت قال مقيما على يحيى بن سعيد القطان ثم خرجت الى واسط فسل يحيى بن سعيد عنى فقالوا خرج الى واسط فقال اى شىء يصنع

‘Alī ibn al-Madīnī not only shewed great respect *al-Madīnī* for Aḥmed, but received it, likewise, from him. It is said that when ‘Alī came to Baghdād he took a leading place among the traditionists, and at such times as men like Aḥmed and Yaḥya ibn Ma‘īn and Khalaf and al-Mu‘aṭṭī were in difference of opinion on any point the voice of ‘Alī was regarded as decisive. Aḥmed out of respect never called ‘Alī by his proper name, but always by his kunya Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ¹⁾. While Aḥmed was regarded as the best faḳīh of his time, Ibn al-Madīnī was said to have superior knowledge of the different views held as to traditions ²⁾, and to be the most learned of the doctors of his day, as Yaḥya ibn Ma‘īn was the one who wrote the most, and Abū Bekr ibn Abū Shaiba was the greatest ḥāfiẓ ³⁾.

Yaḥya ibn Ma‘īn Of Yaḥya ibn Ma‘īn Aḥmed said, that the hearing *Ma‘īn* of Tradition from Yaḥya was healing for troubled breasts. He said, also, that Yaḥya ibn Ma‘īn was a man whom God created for the express purpose of exposing the lies of liars; and any tradition which Yaḥya did not know was no tradition. When he died Yaḥya left behind him one hundred and fourteen cases and four casks of books. This is in harmony with what has just been said as to his having written more traditions than any of his contemporaries ⁴⁾.

بواسط قلوا يقيم على يزيد بن هارون قل وای شیء يمنع عند يزيد
ابن هارون قل ابو عبد الرحمن يعنى ابى هو اعلم منه

1) al-Nawawī, Biog. Dict. ۴۴۳, cf. Goldziher Moh. Stud. I. 267.

2) al-Subkī, p. 185, l. 1, قل, ام على قل,

على اعلم باختلاف الحديث من احمد

3) al-Nawawī, Biog. Dict. ۴۴۴.

4) " " " ۴۴۸; the word جبات should probably be read

جَبَب, jars, (sg. حَبَب) vid. De Goeje, Gloss. Bibl. Geog.

Al-Husain One of the contemporaries of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal ibn 'Alī was al-Husain ibn 'Alī ibn Yazīd Abū 'Alī al-Karābīsī. rābīsī († 245 A. H.) This man was well known both as a faḳīh and as a traditionist. At first, he was a disciple of the Ra'y school, but, later, inclined to the views of al-Shāfi'ī, became a student of his teachings and received authorization¹⁾ to teach what he had learned. The Khatīb al-Baghdādī tells that he was much disesteemed (lit. was very rare) as a traditionist because he had acquired a bad name with Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. This was owing to his strong leaning toward dialectical theology (علم الكلام), in general, and, more particularly, to his application of dialectics in order to come to his conclusions touching the Ḳorān. He was a professed believer in the uncreated existence of the Ḳorān, but could not satisfy Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal by his profession of this doctrine, and much less by his utterances on the symbolic expression of the Ḳorān in articulate human sounds (لفظ القرآن). He appears to have trifled somewhat in his treatment of subjects that were to minds such as that of Aḥmed in the highest degree sacred and serious. For example, his declared faith in the created nature of the Lafẓ al-Ḳorān was on one occasion told to Aḥmed, who, though the profession was in full accord with his own conviction, declared it heresy, because the process by which it had been reached was that of reasoning and not that of submission to traditional authority. Aḥmed's judgment on him was made known to al-Karābīsī, who changed his declaration of faith and professed that the Lafẓ al-Ḳorān was uncreated as well as the Ḳorān itself. Naturally enough,

1) اجازة cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II. 189.

2) For origin and use of the term كلام vid. Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 87 f.; cf. Shahrastānī, Haarbr. transl'n II. 388 f.

3) The Lafẓ al-Ḳorān is used here with reference to the enunciation of the Ḳorān in human speaking; in the following paragraph we have taken it to have a wider scope.

this pleased Ahmed no better and he vigorously declared that this, too, was heresy. The whole quarrel, as one can readily see, was with the method of al-Karābisi, far more than with his theological conclusions¹).

الحسين بن علي بن يزيد ابو علي الكرابيسي كان، al-Subki, p. 172, 1)
 اماما جليلا جامعا بين الفقه والحديث تفقه أولا على مذهب اهل
 الرأي ثم تفقه للشافعي.....
 (قال داود الاصبهاني) قل لي حسين الكرابيسي لما قدم
 الشافعي الى بغداد قدمته فقلت له تالين لي ان اقرا عليك الكتب فابا
 وقال خذ كتب الزعفراني فقد اجزتها لك فاخذها اجازة قل للخطيب
 حديث الكرابيسي يعز جدا وذلك ان احمد بن حنبل كان يتكلم
 فيه بسبب مسئلة اللفظ وهو ايضا كان يتكلم في احمد فتجنب
 الناس الاخذ عنه لهذا السبب قلت كان ابو علي الكرابيسي من
 متكلمي اهل السنة استاذ في علم الكلام كما هو استاذ في الحديث
 والفقه وله كتاب في المقالات قال ابو الخطيب الامام فخر الدين في
 كتاب غاية المرام على كتابه في المقالات معول المتكلمين في معرفة
 مذاهب الخوارج وسائر اهل الاهواء قلت المروى انه قيل للكرابيسي
 ما تقول في القرآن قل كلام الله غير مخلوق فقال له السائل فما تقول
 في لفظي بالقرآن فقال لفظك به مخلوق فمضى السائل الى احمد بن
 حنبل فشرح له ما جرى فقال هذه بدعة والذى عندنا ان احمد
 رضى اشار بقوله هذه بدعة الى الجواب عن مسئلة اللفظ ان ليست
 مما يعنى المرء وخوض المرء في ما لا يعنيه من علم الكلام بدعة فكان
 السكوت عن الكلام فيه اجمل واولى ولا يظن باحمد رحمه الله انه
 يدعى ان اللفظ الخارج من بين الشفتين قديم ومقالة الحسين هذه
 قد نقل مثلها عن البخارى والثارث بن اسد المحاسبى ومحمد بن
 نصر المروزي وغيرهم وسيكون لنا عودة في ترجمة انبشارى الى الكلام
 في ذلك ونقل ان احمد لما قل هذه بدعة رجع السائل الى الحسين

Al-Bokhârî. We have interesting evidence of the doctrinal sympathy between al-Bokhârî and Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. A jealous rival of al-Bokhârî in Nisâbûr charged the latter with heresy on the point of the Lafẓ al-Korân, and the imputation was taken up by many. But it is clear that al-Bokhârî's silence on the question, from reluctance to be drawn into any reasoning on a point for which there was so little evidence pro or con in Tradition, was the only ground for suspecting his orthodoxy. His belief, as well as that of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, was that the Korân itself was not created, but the Lafẓ al-Korân, by which he understood the human acts of writing,

فقال له تلفظك بالقرآن غير مخلوق فعاد الى احمد فعرفه مقالة الحسين
ثانيا فلنكر احمد ايضا ذلك وقال هذه ايضا بدعة وهذا يدل على ما
نقله من ان احمد انما اشار بقوله هذه بدعة الى الكلام في اصل
المسئلة والا فكيف ينكر اثبات الشيء ونفيه فذهب ما قلناه فهو للحق
ان شاء الله تعالى وبما قل احمد نقل فنقول الصواب عدم الكلام
في المسئلة راسا ما لم يدع ائسى الكلام حاجة ملحة ومما يدل على
على ما نقله وان السلف لا ينكرون ان لفظنا حادث وان سكوتهم
انما هو عن الكلام في ذلك لا عن اعتقاده ان الرواة رواوا ان الحسين
بلغه كلام احمد فيه فقال لا قولن مقالة حتى يقل احمد بخلافها
فيكفر فقال لفظى بالقرآن مخلوق وهذه الحكاية قد ذكرها كثير من
الحنابلة وذكرها شيخنا الذهبي في ترجمة الامام احمد وفي ترجمة
الكرابيبي فلنظر الى قول الكرابيبي فيها ان مخالفتها يكفر والامام احمد
فيما يعتقده لم يخالفها وانما انكر ان يتكلم في ذلك فلما تاملت ما
سطرناه ونظرنا قول شيخنا في غير موضع من تاريخه ان مسئلة اللفظ
عما يرجع الى قول جهم عرفت ان الرجل لا يدري في هذه المضايق
ما يقول وقد اكثر هو واحكامه من ذكر جهم بن صفوان وليس قصدنا
الا جعل الخ

reading, reciting and all other acts connected with the use or preservation of the revelation, was created¹⁾.

قال الحسن بن محمد بن جابر قال لنا الذهلي لما¹⁾ al-Subki, p. 214, ورد البخاري نيسابور ذهبوا الى هذا الرجل الصالح فسمعوا منه فذهب الناس اليه واقبلوا على السماع منه حتى ظهر الخلل في مجلس الذهلي فحسده بعد ذلك وتكلم فيه قال ابو احمد بن عدي ذكر لي جماعة من المشايخ ان محمد بن اسمعيل لما ورد نيسابور واجتمعوا عليه حسده بعض المشايخ فقال لاحباب الحديث ان محمد بن اسمعيل يقول اللفظ بالقران مخلوق فامسحوه فلما حضر الناس قام اليه رجل فقال يا ابا عبد الله ما تقول في اللفظ بالقران مخلوق هو ام غير مخلوق فعرض عنه ولم يجبه فلما السؤل فاعرض عنه ثم اعاد فالتفت اليه البخاري وقال القران كلام الله غير مخلوق وافعل العباد مخلوقة والامتحان بدعة فشغب الرجل وشغب الناس وتفرقوا عنه وقعد البخاري في منزله قال محمد بن يوسف الفريدي سمعت محمد بن اسمعيل يقول اما افعل العباد فمخلوقة حدثنا علي بن عبد الله ثنا مروان بن معاوية ثنا ابو ملك عن ربي عن حذيفة قال قال النبي صلعم ان الله يصنع كل صانع وصنعه وسمعت عبيد الله بن سعيد يقول ما زلت اسمع اصحابنا يقولون ان افعل العباد مخلوقة قال البخاري حركاتهم واصواتهم واكسابهم وكتابتهم مخلوقة فاما القران المتلو المثبت في المصاحف المستطور المكتوب الموعى في القلوب فهو كلام الله ليس بمخلوق قال الله تعالى بل هو ايات بينات في صدور الذين اوتوا العلم وقال يقال فلان حسن القراءة ولا يقال حسن القران ولا روى القران وانما ينسب الى العباد القراءة لان القران كلام الرب والقراءة فعل العبد وليس لاحد ان يشرع في امر الله بغير علم كما زعم بعضهم ان القران بالفاظنا والفاظنا به شيء واحد والتلاوة في المتلو او القراءة

Moḥammed Another of Aḥmed's companions, whose highest *ibn Aslam*. compliment was that he resembled the great Imām, was Moḥammed ibn Aslam Abū Ḥusain al-Kindī al-Tūsī

في المقروءة فقليل له ان التلاوة فيعمل القارى وعمل التالي فرجع وقال
طننتهما مصدرين فقليل له هل لا امسكت كما أمسك كثير من اصحابك
ولو بعثت الى من كتب عنك واسترددت ما اثبت وضربت عليه فزعم
ان كيف يمكن هذا وقال قلت ومضى فقلت له كيف جاز لك ان
تقول في الله شيئا لا يقوم به شرحا وبيانا اذا لم تميز بين التلاوة والمتلو
فسكت ان لم يكن عنده جواب وقال ابو حامد الأعمش رايت
البخارى في جنازة سعيد بن مروان والذهلى يساله عن الاسماء والكنى
والعلل وير فيه انبخارى مثل السلام فما اتى على هذا شهر حتى قال
الذهلى لا من يختلف الى مجلسه فلا ياتنا فانهم كتبوا الينا من
بغداد انه تكلم في اللفظ ونهيناه فلم ينته فلا تقربوه قلت كان
البخارى على ما روى وسنحكى ما فيه من قل لفظي بالقران مخلوق
وقال محمد بن يحيى الذهلى من زعم ان لفظي بالقران مخلوق فهو
مبتدع لا يجالس ولا يكلم ومن زعم ان القران مخلوق فقد كفر وانما
اراد محمد بن يحيى والعلم عند الله ما اراده احمد بن حنبل كما
قدمناه في ترجمة الكراييسى من النهى عن الفرض في هذا ولم يرد
مخالفة البخارى وان خلفه وزعم ان لفظه الخارج من بين شفثيه
المحدثين قديم فقد باء بغضب واثر عظيم والظن به خلاف ذلك
وانما اراد هو واحمد وغيرها من الاثمة النهى عن الفرض في مسائل
الكلام وكلام البخارى عندنا محمول على ذكر ذلك عند الاحتياج اليه
فالكلام في الكلام عند الاحتياج واجب وانسكوت عند [dittography]
عدم الاحتياج سنة فانهم ذلك ودع خرافات المورخين واضرب صدحا عن
مزيهات الصائين الذين يظنون انهم محدثون وانهم عند السنة واقفون

(† 242 A. H.). This man was an earnest opponent of the Jahmi and Murji¹⁾ sects, of the former because they professed that

وَمِنْ عِنْدِهَا مَبْعُدُونَ وَكَيْفَ يَظُنُّ بِالْبَخَّارِيِّ أَنَّهُ يَذْهَبُ إِلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ
أَقْوَالِ الْمُعْتَرِثَةِ وَقَدْ صَحَّ عَنْهُ فِيهِمَا رَوَاهُ الْفَرِيدِيُّ وَغَيْرُهُ أَنَّهُ قَالَ أَنَسِي
لَا سَمَجَهْلَ مِنْ لَا يَكْفُرُ لِلْجَهْمِيَّةِ وَلَا يَرْتَابُ الْمَصْنَفُ فِي أَنَّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ يَحْيَى
لَحَقَّتْهُ آفَةٌ لِلْجَسَدِ الَّتِي لَمْ يَسْلَمْ مِنْهَا إِلَّا أَهْلُ الْعَصَمِ وَقَدْ سَلَ بَعْضُهُمُ
الْبَخَّارِيُّ عَمَّا بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ يَحْيَى فَقَالَ الْبَخَّارِيُّ كَمْ يَعْتَرِي
مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى لِلْجَسَدِ فِي الْعِلْمِ وَالْعِلْمِ رَزَقَ اللَّهُ يُعْطِيهِ مِنْ يَشَاءُ
وَلَقَدْ طَرَفَ الْبَخَّارِيُّ وَأَبَانَ عَنْ عَظِيمِ حِكَايَةِ حَيْثُ قَالَ وَقَدْ قَالَ لَهُ
أَبُو عَمْرٍو لِلْغُفَّاءِ أَنَّ النَّاسَ قَدْ خَاصُوا فِي قَوْلِكَ لَفْظِي بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلَقٌ
بِأَبِي عَمْرٍو أَحْفَظُ مَا أَقُولُ لَكَ مِنْ زَعَمٍ مِنْ أَهْلِ نَيْسَابُورٍ وَقَوْمِ [وَالرَّقَى
ditto] وَالرِّيِّ وَهَمْدَانَ وَبَغْدَادَ وَاللَّوْثَةَ وَالبَصْرَةَ وَمَكَّةَ وَالْمَدِينَةَ إِلَى
قُلْتُ لَفْظِي بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلَقٌ فَهُوَ كَذَابٌ فَأَنَّى لَمْ أَقُلْهُ إِلَّا أَنِّي قُلْتُ أَعْمَالُ
الْعِبَادِ مُخْلَقَةٌ قُلْتُ تَامِلْ كَلَامَهُ مَا أَذَكَاهُ وَمَعْنَاهُ وَاللَّهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَنِّي
لَمْ أَقُلْ لَفْظِي بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلَقٌ لِأَنَّ الْكَلَامَ فِي هَذَا خَوْصٌ فِي مَسَائِلِ
الْكَلَامِ وَصِفَاتِ اللَّهِ لَا يَنْبَغِي الْخَوْصُ فِيهَا إِلَّا لِنُصْرَةِ وَلَكِنِّي قُلْتُ أَعْمَالُ
الْعِبَادِ مُخْلَقَةٌ وَهُوَ قَاعِدَةٌ مُغْنِيَةٌ عَنْ تَخْصِيصِ هَذِهِ الْمَسْأَلَةِ بِالذِّكْرِ
فَلَنْ كُلُّ عَاقِلٍ يَعْلَمُ أَنَّ لَفْظَنَا مِنْ جُمْلَةِ أَعْمَالِنَا وَأَعْمَالِنَا مُخْلَقَةٌ فَالْفَظُّ
مُخْلَقٌ وَلَقَدْ أَفْصَحَ بِهَذَا الْمَعْنَى فِي رِوَايَةٍ أُخْرَى صَحِيحَةً عَنْهُ رَوَاهُ حَاتِمُ
ابْنِ أَحْمَدَ الْكَلْبِيِّ فَقَالَ سَمِعْتُ مُسْلِمَ بْنَ الْحَاجَّاجِ يَذْكُرُ لِلْحِكَايَةِ وَفِيهَا
أَنَّ رَجُلًا قَامَ إِلَى الْبَخَّارِيِّ فَسَأَلَهُ عَنِ الْفَظِّ بِالْقُرْآنِ فَقَالَ أَعْمَالِنَا مُخْلَقَةٌ
وَالْفَظُّ مِنْ أَعْمَالِنَا وَفِي الْحِكَايَةِ أَنَّهُ وَقَعَ بَيْنَ انْقِرَافِ أَذْكَاءِ اخْتِلَافٍ عَلَى
الْبَخَّارِيِّ فَقَالَ بَعْضُهُمْ قُلْ [دِitto] لَفْظِي بِالْقُرْآنِ مُخْلَقٌ وَقُلْ
آخَرُونَ لَمْ يَقُلْ قُلْتُ فَلَمْ يَكُنِ الْإِنْكَارُ الْحَاجَّ

¹⁾ For the doctrines of Jahm ibn Ṣafwān, the founder of the Jahmiya sect, v.

the *Ḳorān* was created, of the latter because they held that faith was mere profession without the inward trust and experience of the heart. The argument which he adopted toward the *Jahmīa* was that of the *Ḳorān* verses in which God speaks in his own person to Moḥammed announcing his Mission, and to Moses declaring himself to be his Lord and the Lord of the worlds. In the former case it is implied that if the *word* of the speaker be not that of God, Moḥammed's Mission is called in question. If it be the word of God, then it is eternally potential in him and inseparable from any true conception of him, and, therefore, it must be uncreated. In the case of Moses, if the speaker to him be a creature, then Moses himself and the worlds also, have a second lord, — for one Lord is admitted without question, — and the professors of such a doctrine are at once convicted of *Shirk* (شرك); but, supposing God to have really spoken, then we have again the proceeding forth of a word which we must not regard as created with its utterance, but rather as an inseparable adjunct of the Divine Knowledge, for how otherwise could the Divine Knowledge become efficient or communicative? The sin of the *Jahmīa* is their *Shirk*; this is the result of the reasoning, and without reasoning, from the standpoint of the orthodox apologist, they are guilty, as well, of forging a lie against God (افتراء) by declaring that God did not speak to Moses though the *Ḳorān* says he did.

Against the *Karramiya Murji'a* Ibn Aslam maintained the

Shahrastāni Haarbrücker's transl'n I, 89; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma* &c. pp. 102, 123 f. On the *Murji'a* v. Houtsma, *De Strijd* &c. pp. 34 ff., 40; Shahrastāni, Haarbrücker's transl'n I, 156 ff. The *Murjite* belief as presented in Houtsma, p. 36, differs from that set forth by Moḥammed ibn Aslam, but agrees with the second class of the *Karramite* sects (Houtsma, p. 39) and with the *Ṣifatīya Karramiya* (Shahrastāni, Haarbr. transl'n I, 119 ff., especially p. 127). Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, it will be remembered, com-

posed two works bearing the titles, respectively, *كتاب الرد على الجهمية* and *كتاب الايمان*, vid. p. 19.

doctrine that faith is a gift of God to the heart, a gift of illumination and of spiritual adornment, by means of which it is disposed to believe in God, his angels, his books, his messengers, the resurrection, the day of judgment, the final account, in foreordination to good and evil, in paradise and in hell-fire. This faith is given only to those upon whom God is pleased to bestow it, and is not complete without both the testimony of the lips as, at once, its expression and its confirmation, and the acts of the bodily members as the evidence that the confession of the lips and the antecedent faith of the heart are genuine. The testimony of the lips has for its subjects the things believed on by the heart. These it declares to be true; and, more specifically, it gives the formal confession that there is no God but Allah and that Moḥammed is his Prophet and his Messenger. The acts of the members lie in the performance of such things as God prescribes and in the abstention from such things as he forbids. These points are supported by arguments from the Korân and Tradition; but by this man, as by others of the strict orthodox party, there is stress laid, as well, on arguments outside of either of these sources. For example, it is said by Moḥammed ibn Aslam that, should the Murjite view be proved correct, then the Prophet and the first Khalifs, who had not spent their whole lives in the confession of Islâm, but who had had true faith, notwithstanding, might be held inferior to any mere babblers of the sacred formulas who had been occupied long enough with his task. Those (also called Murji'a¹) who held that works were the measure and substance of faith are opposed, too, and the argument of disparagement to the early worthies is applied here, likewise.

Moḥammed ibn Aslam was a believer in the eternal existence of the Divine attributes, but we have no record

1) Called especially ^{أَكْبَرُ}أَكْبَرُ v. De Goeje, Gloss. Bibl. Geog.

of his method of proving his position in this respect, nor have we any exposition of what it involved').

قال الشيخ واما كلامه في النقص على ١) Abū Nu'aim, 162a ff, المخالفين من الجهمية والمُرَجَّئة فشائعٌ ذائعٌ وقد كان رحمه الله من المثبتة لصفات الله انها اُركية غير محدثة في كتابه المترجم بالرد على الجهمية ذكرت منه فصلا وجيزا من فصوله محمد بن اسلم رحمه الله يقول رَعِمَتِ الْجَهْمِيَّةُ اَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ خَلَفَ وَقَدْ اشْرَكُوا فِي ذَلِكَ وَمَنْ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ لَانَ اللَّهَ قَدْ بَيَّنَّ اَنْ لَهُ كَلَامًا فَقَالَ اِنِّي اصْطَفَيْتُكَ عَلَى النَّاسِ بِرِسَالَتِي وَكَلَامِي وَقَدْ فِي آيَةٍ أُخْرَى وَكَلَّمَ اللَّهُ مُوسَى تَكْلِيمًا فَاخْبَرَ اَنْ لَهُ كَلَامًا وَاَنَّهُ كَلَّمَ مُوسَى عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ فَقَالَ فِي تَكْلِيمِهِ آيَاهُ يَا مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا رَبُّكَ ثَمَّنْ زَعَمَ اَنْ قَوْلَهُ يَا مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا رَبُّكَ خَلَقَ وَاَنَّهُ لَيْسَ بِكَلَامِهِ فَقَدْ اشْرَكَ بِاللَّهِ لَانَهُ زَعَمَ اَنْ خَلَقَا قُلْ مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا رَبُّكَ فَقَدْ جَعَلَ هَذَا الزَّاعِمُ رَبَّا مُوسَى دُونَ اللَّهَ وَقَوْلُ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى اَيْضًا مُوسَى فِي تَكْلِيمِهِ فَاسْتَمَعَ لِمَا يُوحَى اِنِّي اَنَا اللَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اَنَا فَاعْبُدْنِي فَقَدْ جَعَلَ هَذَا الزَّاعِمُ إِلَهًا مُوسَى غَيْرَ اللَّهِ وَقَالَ فِي آيَةٍ أُخْرَى لِمُوسَى فِي تَكْلِيمِهِ آيَاهُ يَا مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ ثَمَّنْ لَمْ يَشْهَدْ اَنْ هَذَا كَلَامُ اللَّهِ وَقَوْلُهُ تَكَلَّمَ بِهِ وَاللَّهُ قَالَهُ وَزَعَمَ اَنَّهُ خَلَقَ فَقَدْ عَظَّمَ شِرْكَهُ وافْتَرَاهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ لَانَهُ زَعَمَ اَنْ خَلَقَا قُلْ مُوسَى يَا مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ فَقَدْ جَعَلَ هَذَا الزَّاعِمُ لِلْعَالَمِينَ رَبَّا غَيْرَ اللَّهِ فَاتَى شِرْكَ اعْظَمَ مِنْ هَذَا فَتَبْقَى الْجَهْمِيَّةُ فِي هَذِهِ الْقِصَّةِ بَيْنَ كُفْرَيْنِ اِثْنَيْنِ اَنْ زَعَمُوا اَنْ اللَّهَ لَمْ يَكَلِّمْ مُوسَى فَقَدْ رُدُّوا كِتَابَ اللَّهِ وَكَفَرُوا وَاَنْ زَعَمُوا اَنْ هَذَا الْكَلَامُ يَا مُوسَى اِنِّي اَنَا اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ مِنْ خَلَقَ فَقَدْ اشْرَكُوا بِاللَّهِ فَمَنْ هَؤُلَاءِ الْآيَاتِ بَيَانُ اَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ كَلَامُ اللَّهِ وَفِيهَا بَيَانُ شِرْكَ مَنْ زَعَمَ اَنْ كَلَامَ اللَّهِ خَلَفَ اَوْ قَوْلُ اللَّهِ خَلَقَ

Mystics and Ascetics. Ahmed ibn Hanbal had a predilection in favor of mystics and ascetics, but toward one of these, *al-Hārith ibn Asad al-Muḥāsibī*, he conceived a strong antipathy because this man was said to use reasoning in theological matters. The reconciliation between

او ما ارحى الله الى انبيائه خلق واما تقصه رحمه الله على المرتبة
 انكرامية التي زعمت ان الايمان هو انقل باللسان من دون عقد القلب
 الذي هو التصديق فقد صنف في الايمان وفي الاعمال الدالة على
 تصديق القلب و امراته كتابا جامعا كبيرا
 فقال رسول الله صلعم
 الايمان ان تؤمن بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم الآخر والقدر
 كله خيره وشره الحديث وهذا اول حديث ذكره واستفتح به كتابه
 وبني عليه كلامه قل محمد بن اسلم فبذله الايمان من قبل الله
 قربانا ورحمة ومتا يمن به على من يشاء من عباده فيقذف في قلبه
 الايمان و يحببه اليه فاذا نثر قلبه ورثين فيه الايمان وحببه اليه
 آمن قلبه بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله واليوم الآخر والقدر كله
 خيره وشره [وهذا الحديث اول حديث ذكره واستفتح به كتابه وبني
 عليه كلامه قل محمد بن اسلم فبدأ الايمان من قبل الله قربانا ورحمة
 ومتا يمن به على من يشاء من عباده فيقذف في قلبه نورا a repetition
 of preceding matter ينثر به قلبه ويشرح به صدره ويؤثر في قلبه الايمان
 وحببه (ويصحبه Codex) اليه آمن قلبه بالله وملائكته وكتبه ورسله
 واليوم الآخر والقدر كله خيره وشره وآمن بالبعث والحساب والجنة والنار
 حتى كانه ينظر الى ذلك و ذلك من النور الذي قذفه الله في قلبه فاذا
 آمن قلبه نطق لسانه مصدقا لما آمن به القلب واقر بذلك وشهد ان

them does not seem to have ever been openly effected; but there is a story to the effect that Ahmed took the opportunity of secretly hearing al-Hârith, when the latter with

لا اله الا الله وأن محمداً رسول الله صلعم وأن هذه الاشياء التي آمن بها القلب حق فاذا آمن القلب وشهد اللسان عملت الجوارح فاضاعت امر الله وعملت بعمل الايمان وأنت حق الله عليها في فرائضه وانتهت عن محارم الله ايماناً وتصديقاً بما في القلب ونطق به اللسان فاذا فعل ذلك كان مؤمناً وقد بين الله تعالى ذلك في كتابه أن بدء الايمان من قلبه فقال ولكن الله حبب اليكم الايمان وزينه في قلوبكم وقل افسح شرح الله صدره للاسلام فهو على نور من ربه وقل الذين اوتوا العلم والايمان وقل كتب في قلوبهم الايمان وقل رسول الله صلعم للحارث بن مالك عبد نهر الله الايمان في قلبه وقل نور يقذف في القلب فينشرح وينفتح ثم بين الرسول انه تبين على المؤمن ايمانه بالعمل حين قيل له هل له علامة يعرف بها قل نعم الانابة الى دار الخلد والتجافي عن دار الغرور والاستعداد للموت قبل نزوله الا ترون انه قد بين أن ايمانه يعرف بالعمل لا بالقول وقد بين ان الايمان الذي في القلب ينفعه اذا عمل بعمل الايمان فاذا عمل بعمل الايمان تبين علامة ايمانه انه مؤمن فهذا كلامه الذي عليه البناء والكتاب وأنه جعل الاعمال علامة الايمان قل الايمان هو تصديق القلب وأن اللسان شاهد يشهد ومعبّر يعبر عما في القلب لا أن الشاهد المعبر نفس الايمان من دون تصديق القلب على ما رجحت الكرامية وضمن هذا الكتاب من الآثار المسندة وقول الصحابة والتابعين احاديث كثيرة قل محمد بن اسلم قل المرجى الايمان واحد ويتفاضل الناس بالاعمال يقال للمرجى قولك يتفاضل الناس بالاعمال

his companions had been invited to a feast, and that he was then convinced that his earlier impressions of the man, however just when formed, did al-Hārith some injustice at

خطأ لأنه زعم أن من كان أكثر عملاً فهو أفضل من الذي كان أقل عملاً فعلى وجه أن من كان بعد رسول الله كان أفضل من رسول الله صلعم لأنهم عملوا بعده أعمالاً كثيرة من الحج والعمرة والغزو والصلاة والصيام والصدقة والأعمال الجسمية ورسول الله صلعم أفضل منهم ثم من كان بعد أبي بكر قد عملوا أعمالاً كثيرة لم يبلغها أبو بكر وأبو بكر أفضل منهم ثم من كان بعد عمر قد عملوا الأعمال الكثيرة التي لم يعملها عمر ولم يبلغها وعمر أفضل منهم ثم من بعد أصحاب رسول الله صلعم من التابعين قد عملوا أعمالاً كثيرة أكثر مما عملته الصحابة والصحابة أفضل منهم وأى خطأ أعظم من خطأ هذا المرجى الذي زعم أن الناس يتفاضلون بالأعمال إنما الفضل بيد الله يوتيهِ من يشاء يُفضل من يشاء من عباده على من يشاء عدلاً منه ورحمة فكل من فضله الله فهو أعظم إيماناً من الذي دونه لأن الإيمان قسم من الله قسمه بين عباده كيف شاء كما قسم الأرزاق فاعطى منها كل عبد ما شاء الا ترى الى قول عبد الله بن مسعود اذا احب الله عبداً اعطاه الإيمان فالإيمان عطية من الله يعطيه من يشاء ويفضل من يشاء على من يشاء وهو قوله ولكن الله حبيب اليكم الإيمان وزينه في قلوبكم وقال آمن شرح الله صدره للإسلام فهو على نور من ربه افلا ترون ان هذا التزيين وهذا النور من عطية الله ورزقه يعطى من يشاء كما يشاء الا ترون ان الناس يمرون يوم القيامة على الصراط على قدر نورهم فواحد نُورُه مثل الجبل وآخر نُورُه مثل بيت فكم بين الجبل والبيت من الزيادة والنقصان فاذا كان نور من خارج

that time. The change in Aḥmed's opinion does not seem to have been complete or to have saved al-Muḥāsibī from loss of credit in Baghdād, for, at his death in 243 A. H., only four people attended his funeral. It is possible that this may, however, be explained as the consequence of some pious wish which he had expressed ¹⁾.

مثل الجبل واخر مثل البيت فكذلك نورها من داخل القلب على قدر ذلك فالمرجئة والجهمية قياسهما قياسي واحد فان الجهمية زعمت ان الايمان المعرفة فتحسب بلا اقرار ولا عمل والمرجئة زعمت انه قول بلا تصديق قلب ولا عمل وكلاهما من شيعة ابليس وعلى زعم ابليس مؤمن لانه عرف ربه ووحد حين قل فبعزتك لاغويتم اجمعين وحين قل انى اخاف الله رب العالمين وحين قل رب بما اغويتني فأتى قوم أثبت ضلالة واطهر جهلا واعظم بدعة من قوم يزعمون ان ابليس مؤمن فصلوا من جهة قياس يقسمون على الله دينه ولا يقاس دينه فما عبت الاوثان والاصنام الا بالقياس فاحذروا يا امة محمد القياس على الله في دينه واتبعوا ولا تبتدعوا فان دين الله استبان اقتداء واتبع لا قياسي وابتداع

1) v. Shahrastāni Haarbrücker's transl'n I, 97, II, 389. A different view is given of Aḥmed's quarrel with this man in von Kremer, *Herrsch. Ideen des Islāms*, 68, note 1. For his biography v. Ibn Chall. N°. 151. Al-Subkt, p. 230, l. 9. على يشدد النكير على

من يتكلم في علم اللام خوفا ان يجز ذلك الى ما لا ينبغي ولا شك ان السكوت عنه ما لم تدع اليه الحاجة الى واللام فيه عند فقد الحاجة بدعة وكان الحارث قد تكلم في شيء من مسائل اللام قال ابو القاسم النصراني بلغني ان احمد بن حنبل هجره بهذا السبب قلت والظن بالحارث انه ربما تكلم حيث دعت الحاجة ولكل مقصد والله اعلم يرجعهما الله وذكر الحاكم ابو عبد الله ان ابا بكر احمد بن

With Bishr al-Hâfi († 226) and with al-Sarî al-Saḡatî († 253) Aḥmed stood on terms of intimate friendship. He counted it his high privilege, indeed, to have seen some of the most holy men of his time in possession of little else than their piety and poverty. Those whose names are recorded beside the

اسحاق اخبره قل سمعت اسماعيل بن اسحاق السراج يقول قل لي
احمد بن حنبل يبلغني ان للارث هذا يكثر الكون عندك فلو احضرته
منزلك واجلستني من حيث ان لا يراى فسمع كلامه فقصدت للارث
وسالته ان يحضرنا تلك الليلة وان يحضر اصحابه فقال فيهم كثرة فلا
نردم على الكسب والتمر فتييت ابا عبد الله فاعلمته فحضر الى غرفة
واجتهد في ورده وحضر للارث واصحابه فاكلوا ثم صلوا القيمة ولم
يصلوا بعدها وقعدوا بين يدي للارث لا ينطقون الى قريب نصف
الليل ثم ابتدا رجل منهم فسال عن مسألة فاخذ للارث في الكلام
واصحابه يستمعون كان على رؤوسهم الطير فنام من يبكي ومنهم من يحن
ومنهم من يبغف وهو في كلامه فصعدت [في الغرفة لتعرف حال ابي
عبد الله فوجدته قد بكى حتى غشى عليه فانصرفت انيهم ولم يزل
تلك حالهم حتى اصبحوا وذهبوا فصعدت الى ابي عبد الله فقال ما
اعلم اني رايت مثل هؤلاء القوم ولا سمعت في علم الحقائق مثل كلام
هذا الرجل ومع هذا فلا ارى لك صحبتهم ثم قام وخرج وفي رواية ان
احمد قل لا انكر من هذا شيئا قلت تأمل هذه الحكاية بعين البصيرة
واعلم ان احمد بن حنبل انما لم ير لهذا الرجل صحبتهم لقصوره عن
مقامهم فانهم في مقام ضيق لا يسلكه كل احد فيخاف على سائلكه والا
فاحمد قد بنى وشكر للارث هذا الشكر ولكل راي واجبها وحشرنا الله
معهم اجمعين في زمرة سيد المرسلين صلعم

two mentioned are Abdallah ibn Idris († 192) Abû Dâûd al-Hafarî and Ayûb al-Najjâr¹).

Dâûd ibn Dâûd ibn 'Alî, the founder of the Zahirite school, ^{'An.} († 270) was one of Aḥmed's pupils. There was made to Aḥmed a very unlikely report against him to the effect that he had been teaching in Khorasân that the Kōrân was created (by fashioning that which already existed *محدث*), and that his Lafẓ al-Kōrân was created (by being made from nothing *المخلوق*). This influenced Aḥmed so that he refused to receive him, and we have no knowledge that he afterwards changed his decision; but the Zahirites are known to have been even more strict than Aḥmed on the uncreated nature of the Kōrân, and it may be assumed that Dâûd did not long continue to be suspected by him. It is to be remarked that the informant of Aḥmed was Moḥammed ibn Yaḥya al-Dhuhlî, the same man who in jealousy accused al-Bokhârî of heretical views on the Lafẓ al-Kōrân. Further, it should be noted that the incident is said to have occurred during the lifetime of Ishâk ibn Râhawaih († 238 A. H.) when Dâûd must have been a comparatively young man. If the account be true his views must have undergone

ولقي خلقا كثيرا من الصالحين الزهاد وقال الامم، ١) al-Makrizî, p. 1, ابو بكر المروزي سمعت احمد بن حنبل يقول ما أعدل بالفقر شيئا رايت قوما صالحين لقد رايت عبد الله بن ابريس وعليه جبة من لبون وقد اتى عليه السنون والدهور ورايت ابا داود الحفري وعليه جبة مخرقة قد خرج القطن منها يصلى بين المغرب والعشاء وهو يرجع من الجوع ورايت ايوب بن النجار بمكة قد خرج لما كان فيه ومعه رشا [رشا Cod.] يستقي به بمكة وقد خرج من كل ما كان يملكه وكان من العبددين وكان في دنيا فتركها في يدى يحيى القطان في ائس آخر ذكرهم

change during the remaining years of his life. He was born in 202 A. H. and died in 270 A. H. ¹).

Ibrāhīm In the year 218 A. H. there died in Egypt *ibn Ismā'īl* Ibrāhīm ibn Ismā'īl Abū Ishāq al-Baṣrī al-Asadī al-Mu'talizi, known as Ibn 'Ulayya. He was a professor of the doctrine that the Korān was created and had discussions about Fikḥ with al-Shāfi'ī in Egypt, and with Ahmed ibn Ḥanbal in Baghdād about the Korān. Ahmed regarded him as a dangerous heretic ²). The Ibn 'Ulayya al-Akbar whose name figures in the history of the Mihna under al-Ma'mūn, appears to have been a different person, who was of orthodox reputation hitherto. Taken together with the similarity of the names, the seeming readiness with which Ibn 'Ulayya al-Akbar complied with the test as to the Korān's creation might suggest, however, that he was in some way related to the party here mentioned. But this is only hypothetical.

II.

MIHNA. In the beginning of the second century of Islām *Historical* al-Ja'd ibn Dirham, teacher of the Khalif Marwān II, *Develop-* held the doctrine that the Korān was created, and, *ment.* at that time, imaginative adversaries of the belief declared themselves to be able to trace the steps of Tradition by which the heresy was to be carried back from Ja'd to Lebid, a Jew, whom the Prophet had declared to have bewitched him and thereby produced in him a sickness ³). However the doctrine came to him, Ja'd was put to death by Khālid ibn Abdallah, Governor of 'Irāq, at the command of the Khalif Hishām. After this we hear no more of the doctrine until the time of the Abbaside Hārūn al-Rashīd ⁴). The account of the

1) Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 134. The incident is also found in *al-Sabkt*, p. 232.

2) *Abu'l-Mahāsīn* I, 647.

3) Weil, *Muḥammed*, 94, note 121.

4) Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, 101 f.

historical development (of the doctrine of the creation of the *Korân*)¹⁾ which led up to the inquisition under al-Ma'mûn and his successors is given by Abu'l-Faraj ibn al-Jauzi, († 598 A. H.) as follows: Men did not cease to follow the good rule of the fathers of Islâm and their confession that the *Korân* was the uncreated Word of God, until the Mu'tazilites (freethinkers)²⁾ appeared, professing the creation of the *Korân*. This they did secretly until the time of al-Rashîd. Then, they ventured to teach their view more openly, until al-Rashîd said one day, 'I have heard that Bishr al-Marisi³⁾ says that the *Korân* is created; now, verily, if God give him into my hand, I will kill him in such a way as I have never yet killed anyone'. On learning this Bishr remained hidden for about twenty years during the days of al-Rashîd. (This would carry back his public profession of the doctrine in question to about 173 A. H.) When al-Rashîd died, the matter remained in the same position during the time of his son al-Amin; but when al-Ma'mûn succeeded, some of the Mu'tazilites led him astray and made the doctrine of the creation of the *Korân* to appear plausible to him⁴⁾.

1) On this subject cf. Weil, *Chalifen* II, 262, note 1; von Kremer, *Herrschaft des Islams*, 233 ff. and chronological note 20, p. 127, in the same work.

2) On the name Mu'tazila and the rise of the sect, vid. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 25 f.; Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, 51. On the history of the sect, Steiner, 48 ff.; Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 183, 184. On their doctrines, Maqoudî VI, 20 ff.; Steiner, 3 ff.; Houtsma, 55, 80, 89, 121 f.; Haarbrücker's transl'n of *Shahrastâni* I, 40. On their doctrine of the *Korân*, Steiner, 75 ff.; Houtsma, 104 f.

3) Von Hammer, *Lit. Geschichte* III, 205; Abu'l-Mah. I, 647 and note 9; Ibn Chall. N°. 114; Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 78. He is called by Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, 79 (cf. note 1), one of the leading Murjites of his time. By *Shahrastâni*, *Haarbr.* I, 94, he is called, as the result of false pointing of the letters, Bishr ibn Attâb, instead of Bishr ibn Ghiyâth al-Marisi. For his views vid. *Shahrastâni*, *Haarbr.* I, 161, 162, cf. I, 243.

4) al-Makrizî, p. 3, فصل في محنة الامام رضى الله عنه وما وقع فيها, على سبيل الاختصار قل للناظر ابو الفرج بن الجوزي لا يزل الناس على قنون السلف وقولهم ان القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق حتى نبغت

A Pre- It is reported that the Imām al-Shāfiʿī, before
diction by his death in 204, had a dream, in which he was
al-Shāfiʿī. forewarned by the Prophet of the trial, in years to
 come, of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal for the sake of the Korān. He
 is alleged to have sent word to Aḥmed informing him of the
 communication he had received, and report says that Aḥmed,
 on reading the letter, exclaimed, 'I hope that God will verify
 that which al-Shāfiʿī says' ¹). We may, probably, infer from

للمعتزلة قتلوا بخلق القرآن وكانوا ويتسترون بذلك الى زمن الرشيد
 حتى ان الرشيد قل يوما بلغني ان بشر المروسي بخلق القرآن مخلوق
 والله على ان اطرفي الله به لاقتلنه قتلته ما قتلتهما احدا فقام بشر
 متواريا لهم الرشيد نحواً من عشرين سنة فلما توفي الرشيد كان الامر
 كذلك في زمن ولده الامين فلما ولي المامون خلعه قهر من المعتزلة
 فحسنوا له القول بخلق القرآن

فصل في بشارة النبي صلعم له بالحنف قبل وقوعها ١) al-Makrizi, p. 3,
 بسنين على لسان الامام محمد بن ادريس الشافعي رضى الله عنه
 كان الامام الشافعي رضى الله عنه لما دخل مصر راي النبي صلعم
 في المنام واخبره ان الامام احمد سيمنحني قل الربيع بن سليمان
 فكتب الشافعي على يدي كتابا الى ابي عبد الله احمد بن حنبل
 ثم قال لي يا سليمان اني قد بكتاني هذا الى العراق ولا تقراء فاحلثت
 الكتاب وخرجت من مصر حتى قدمت العراق فوافيت مسجدا احمد
 ابن حنبل فصادفته يصلي الفجر فصليت معه وكنت لرا اركع السنة
 فظمت اركع عقيب الصلاة فجعل ينظر الي مليا حتى عرفني فلما
 سلمت من صلاتي سلمت عليه واصلت الكتاب اليه وقلت له هذا
 كتاب اخيك الشافعي من مصر فجعل يسالني عن الشافعي طويلا
 قبل ان ينظر في الكتاب ثم قل لي نظرت فيه قلت لا ففك ختمه

this incident that the doctrine of the creation of the Korân had already begun to make some stir when al-Shâfi'i was in Baghdâd, and that Ahmed was at this early stage a vigorous opponent of the tenet.

Al-Ma'mûn. The interest of al-Ma'mûn in theology is emphasized by all the historians ¹⁾. He had been thoroughly trained in the knowledge of Tradition, of the Korân sciences, and of the Korân itself from early childhood, and had had among his teachers Mâlik ibn Anas, Hushaim ibn Bashîr and his own father ²⁾. His ability as a pupil soon brought him

وقراه حتى اذا بلغ موضعا منه بكى وقل ارجو الله تعالى ان يحقق ما قاله الشافعى قلت يا ابا عبد الله اى شيء قد كتب اليك قال ذكر في كتابه انه رأى النبى صلعم فى نومه وهو يقول له يابن ادريس بشر هذا الفتى ابا عبد الله احمد بن حنبل انه سيمتحن فى دين الله وينصى ان يقول انقران مخلوق فلا يفعل فانه سيضرب بالسياط وان الله عز وجل ينشر له بذلك علما لا يطوى الى يوم القيامة فقلت بشارة فإى شيء جاترتى عليها وكن عليه ثوبا فنزع احدهما فدفعه الى وكان مما يلى جلده واعطاني جواب الكتاب فخرجت حتى قدمت على الشافعى فاخبرته بما جرى قال فإين الثوب قلت هوذا فقال ليس نفاجعك به ويروى ان الشافعى رضى الله عنه قل للربيع لا نبتاعه منك ولا نستعديه ولكن اغسله وجئنا بمائه قال فغسلته وحملت ماء اليه فجعله فى قنينة وكنت اراه فى كل يوم ياخذ منه فيمسح على وجهه تبركا باحمد بن حنبل

¹⁾ Cf. Abu'l-Mahâsin I, 644; Hammer-Purgstall, Lit. Gesch. III, 26; al-Sayyidî, Tarikh al-Kholafâ, Calcutta, 1857, p. 310; Dory, Het Islamisme, 1880, p. 152. The notices of al-Ma'mûn's character found in al-Subkî, p. 144, and al-Makrizî, p. 3, are in accordance with the accounts found in the works just mentioned.

²⁾ Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 13, says that al-Ma'mûn 'first

to a foremost place as a theologian, but a mind like his, eager for much wider ranging than was afforded within the narrow bounds of the orthodoxy of Islām, soon shewed its sympathy with the revived philosophy which had begun to be popular under the dominion of the Khalifs, and with the different branches of Arabic letters and sciences. Following his bent of mind ¹⁾, he gathered to his court from different parts of his empire, philosophers and men of more liberal tendency of thought than had been found among the companions of his predecessors ²⁾. Al-Ma'mûn, however, is not looked upon as a man, naturally impious nor was his interest in sacred subjects one merely controversial in its character. It is related of him that he used to complete 33 recitations of the Ḳorân in the month of Ramaḍân ³⁾. He also gave special gifts of money to relieve the needs of the teachers of Tradition, and all accepted of his beneficence except Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal ⁴⁾. The letters written by al-Ma'mûn in connection with the Mihna, however, do not give us a favorable impression of his character. The orthodox historians say that his companions at Court were wholly responsible for al-Ma'mûn's

attended the lectures of the Mutakallims and later took an interest in orthodoxy. He does not cite his authority for the remark, and it does not harmonize with what I have been able to gather from the authorities I have consulted. They invert the order, and I have followed them in my narrative.

1) Steiner (Die Mu'taziliten, p. 16) expresses the opinion that the tendency toward liberal theological views, which was so strongly advanced by the influence of the Greek Philosophy, had already set in before the Arabs became acquainted with Greek philosophical thought.

2) For the patronage of letters and philosophy by the Abbaside sovereigns with its direct effect in the rise of the men of the Kalām, and its indirect or reactionary effect in increasing the zeal in study of the men of the Tradition, vid. Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 86 f.

3) Goldziher, Moh. Studien II, 58, 59; Von Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen d. Isl. 301, note 15; Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 6, note 5; Al-Subkl, p. 144,

قيل ختم في رمضان ثلاثا وثلاثين ختمه.

4) Abû Nu'aim, 143 هـ, دفع المأمون مالا فقال أقسمه على أصحابي، 143 هـ, الحديث لأن فيهم ضعفاء بنا بقي أحد الا أخذ الا أحمد بن حنبل

heterodoxy in theology, and for the consequent persecution of the stricter theologians on which he entered. [It would appear to be more in accordance with the facts, to say that al-Ma'mûn himself found the atmosphere of orthodoxy oppressive and sought relief by surrounding himself with men whose minds were of his own liberal cast ¹⁾.] That these men should then put forth this or that doctrine is not so much to be considered as that the Khalif himself found heterodoxy a more congenial environment than orthodoxy. That (Ahmed ibn Abî Dowâd, the Chief-Kâdi, was responsible for the inquisition known as the Miḥna may be said ²⁾; but it should not be forgotten that before Ibn Abî Dowâd obtained his ascendancy over the mind of al-Ma'mûn, the latter would himself have set on foot the Miḥna for the creation of the Korân had he not been afraid to do so. The Khalif's public adoption of the doctrine of the Korân's creation dates from Rabî' I, 212 A. H. (827 A. D.) ³⁾.

The following incident shews clearly the state of al-Ma'mûn's mind previous to this date. Yazîd ibn Hârûn, who is mentioned in connection with the incident, died in 206 A. H., six years before al-Ma'mûn publicly professed the doctrine that the Korân was created, and twelve years before the beginning of the Miḥna. Yahya ibn Aktham related; "Al-Ma'mûn said to us, 'If it were not for Yazîd ibn Hârûn I would assuredly make public declaration of the doctrine that the Korân is created'. On this one of his courtiers said, 'Nay! but who is Yazîd ibn Hârûn that the Commander of the Faithful

1) Cf. Houtsma, De Strijd over het Dogma, 108.

2) Cf. Abu'l-Mah. I, 733; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab., 547; Al-Subki, وكان معظما عند المأمون أمير المؤمنين يقبل شفاعته, p. 136, ويصغى إلى كلامه وأخباره في هذا كثيرة فندس ابن أبي دؤاد له القول بخلق القرآن وحسنه عنده وصبره يعتقده حقا مبينا إلى أن أجمع رأيه في سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين هـ الدعاء إليه

3) Tab. III, 191.

should fear him?' His reply was, 'I am afraid, if I declare it publicly, that he will retort upon me, and men will be at discord in their opinions, and thus there will come trouble, to which I am averse'. One of those who were present then said to al-Ma'mûn, 'I will make trial of the matter with Yazîd ibn Hârûn'. So this man went down to Wâsiṭ and, coming upon Yazîd in the Mosque, said to him, 'O Abû Khâlid, the Commander of the Faithful greets thee and would inform thee that he wishes to make public declaration that the Kōrân is created'. Yazîd answered, 'You lie against the Commander of the Faithful! If you speak the truth, wait here until the people come together to me'. So next day when the people came to him, the Khalif's messenger repeated what he had said the day before, and asked, 'What have you to say about the matter?' Yazîd retorted, 'You have lied against the Commander of the Faithful. The Commander of the Faithful will not force men to profess that which they have not hitherto known, and which none of them has ever professed'. After this passage the man returned to the Commander of the Faithful, told him of the result, and acknowledged that al-Ma'mûn had been more accurate in his forecast than he himself had been. Al-Ma'mûn replied, 'He has made jest of you' ¹).

[قال البيهقي (٤٥٨ ت)] قال يحيى بن اكرم قال لنا ١) al-Makrizi, p. 3, المؤمن لولا مكان يزيد بن هرون لأظهر القول بخلق القرآن فقال له بعض جلسائه ومن يزيد بن هرون حتى ينقيه امير المؤمنين فقال ان اخاف ان اظهرته يرد على فيختلف الناس وتكون فتنة وانا اكره الفتنة فقال الرجل للمامون انا اخبر ذلك من يزيد بن هرون فخرج الى واسط فاجاء الى يزيد فدخل عليه المسجد فقال بابا خالد ان امير المؤمنين يقرئك السلام ويقول لك اني اريد ان اظهر القول في ان القرآن مخلوق فقال له كذبت على امير المؤمنين فان

The public adoption of the doctrine that the Korân was created was conjoined with the public declaration of the superiority of 'Ali over Abû Bekr and 'Omar. Al-Ma'mûn was a pro-'Alyite Khalif¹⁾, even as al-Mutawakkil, who revoked the royal edict announcing the Korân's creation, was an anti-'Alyite Khalif. The Shyites were, in fact, Mu'tazilites in theological opinion, and it is not surprising that the ruler who gave out their tenet touching the Korân should, at the same time, prefer their great leader before the orthodox Abû Bekr and his successor, even as it is not surprising that the ruler who revoked their tenet should restore to the orthodox Khalifs their primacy. Political capital was made out of both events by partisans, but in both cases it seems to us that the intention of the Khalifs was primarily to effect a religious reform²⁾.

For six years al-Ma'mûn was undecided as to whether or not he should make the tenet that the Korân was created obligatory upon his subjects; finally, when he had deposed Yahya ibn

كنت صادقاً فاصبر الى ان يجتمع على الناس كل فلما كان الغد واجتمع عليه الناس قلت يا ابا خالد ان امير المؤمنين يقرئك السلام ويقول لك اني اريد ان اظهر القول بخلق القرآن فما عندك في ذلك قال كذبت على امير المؤمنين امير المؤمنين لا يحمل الناس على ما لا يعرفونه وما لم يقل به احد قال الرجل فلما رجعت الى امير المؤمنين قلت له يا امير المؤمنين انك كنت اعلم بالامر منا كان من القصة كيت وكيت فقال امير المؤمنين انه تلعب بك

cf. von Hammer, Lit. Gesch. III, p. 159, Yazid ibn Hârdn.

1) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 97. Al-Ma'mûn, who had hoped to effect something by political alliance with the 'Alyites, found in time that there was nothing to be gained and much to be lost by such an alliance and gave it up, though still friendly to the 'Alyite party and favorable to many of its views. Houtsma, 99.

2) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 99 f. On this subject cf. Weil, Chalifen II, 258 ff.; von Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen, 333 ff.

Aktham, in the year 217 A. H., from the Chief-Kâdî's office ¹⁾ and appointed Ahmed ibn Abî Dowâd as his successor, he was encouraged to take the step by his new favorite until, in the last year of his life 218 A. H., he ordered the application of the Mihna, or test ²⁾.

Ibn Abî Dowâd. (Ahmed ibn Abî Dowâd), who held a position of great power under the three Khalifs, al-Ma'mûn, al-Mu'tasim and al-Wâthik, and was the most vigorous advocate of the Mihna during their reigns ³⁾, is pictured in the accounts given by the orthodox biographers of Ahmed ibn Hanbal in much too unfavorable a light. He was a learned man, gifted in the Kalâm, — he studied the Kalâm with Hayyâj ibn al-'Alâ al-Sulamî, a pupil of Wâcîl ibn 'Atâ ⁴⁾, — and was the first who publicly employed it in speaking before the Khalifs, though he refrained from employing it in the presence of Ibn al-Zayyât the Vizier. The Khalif al-Mu'tasim was completely under the power of Ibn Abî Dowâd.

1) De Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* 376.

2) p. 52, note 2.

3) Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 78.

4) for Wâcîl ibn 'Atâ cf. Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 133 f.; Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, pp. 25, 50. Houtsma (*De Strijd etc.* 103) says that Wâcîl ibn 'Atâ does not appear to have taught the creation of the Korân.

كان القاضي احمد بن ابي دواد عن نشا في العلم وتصلع،
 بعلم الكلام وصحب فيه هياج بن العلاء السلمي صاحب واصل بن عطاء
 احد رؤوس المعتزلة وكان ابن ابي دواد رجلا فصيحاً قل ابو العيينة
 [Cod. no points; cf. Abu'l-Mahâsin, I 475, 733] ما رايت رئيساً قط افصح
 ولا انطق منه وكان كريماً مدحاً وفيه يقول بعضهم "لقد أنست
 مساوي كل دهر، محاسن احمد بن ابي دواد، وما تنوت في الاثافي
 الا، ومن جدواك راحتى وزادى، يقيم انظن عندك والامانى،
 [Cod. قلب وان Abu'l-Feda Ann. II, 678, corrects as in text] وارقلت
 ركبى في البلاد،

He entered the service of al-Ma'mûn in the year 204 A. H. on the recommendation of Yahya ibn Aktham, and at this Khalif's death was warmly recommended by him to his successor, al-Mu'tasim. In the very beginning of al-Mutawakkil's reign Ahmed was paralyzed, and his son Mohammed was made Chief-Kâdî in his place, but was deposed in the same year, 232 A. H. Ibn Abî Dowâd was an eloquent man and a poet whose praises were loudly celebrated by poets and others. He was, also, a man of large generosity, and a lover of good living and entertainment ¹⁾. In contrast to this estimate of the man is the representation of him as an impetuous, ignorant and narrow bigot, which we find in most of the orthodox accounts. In 236 or 237 A. H. Ibn Abî Dowâd came into disfavor at the Court, and was imprisoned and his property confiscated; later, he was sent to reside in Baghdâd, where he lived till his death. Both father and son died in disgrace in the year 240 A. H., the son twenty days before his father ²⁾.

First Letter The first step taken by al-Ma'mûn to secure conformity to the view which he had adopted was to send a letter to his lieutenant at Baghdâd, Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm, cousin of Tâhir ibn al-Hasan, ordering him to cite before him the kâdis and traditionists, and to demand of them an answer to the test as to the

1) On the luxurious life of the chief Mu'tazila cf. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 81 f.; Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 10 infra.

2) Weil, Chalifen II, 334; Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 58; Maçoudî VI, 214; Ibn Chall. N°. 31; Abu'l-Mah. I, 733; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab.

وَجَعَلَ يَعْقُوبَ وَعْتَابَ يَصِيرَانِ إِلَيْهِ فَيَقْرَأْنَ
لَهُ يَقُولُ لَكَ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَا تَقْرَأُ فِي ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فِي مَا لَهُ فَلَا
يَجِيبُ فِي ذَلِكَ بَشْيَءَ وَجَعَلَ يَعْقُوبَ وَعْتَابَ يُخْبِرَانِهِ بِمَا يَحْدُثُ فِي
أَمْرِ ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فِي كُلِّ يَوْمٍ ثُمَّ أَحْدَثَ ابْنُ أَبِي دَوَادٍ فِي بَغْدَادِ
بَعْدَمَا أَشْهَدَ عَلَيْهِ بَيْعِ ضِيَاعِهِ

creation of the Korân.] This letter ran as follows ¹⁾: That which God has laid upon the imâms of the Muslims, their Khalifs, is to be zealous in the maintenance of the religion of God, which he has asked them to conserve; in the heritage of prophecy, which he has granted them to inherit; in the tradition of knowledge, which he has asked them to hold in charge; in the government of their subjects according to right and justice, and in being diligent to observe obedience to God in their conduct toward them. Now, the Commander of the Faithful asks God to assist him to persevere in the right way and to be energetic in it, to act justly, also, in those interests of his subjects over which God by his grace and bounty has appointed him to have rule. The Commander of the Faithful knows that the great multitude, the mass of the insignificant folk, and the vulgar public, who, in all regions and countries, are without insight and deep reflection, and have not a method of reasoning by means of such proof as God approves under the guidance which he gives, and no enlightenment by the light of knowledge and its evidences, are a people ignorant of God and too blind to see him, too much in error to know the reality of his religion, the confession of his unity and the belief in him; perverted, also, so as not to recognize his clear tokens, and the obligation of his service; unable to grasp the real

1) The text on which I have based all the translations of the Khalif al-Ma'mûn's letters in relation to the Mihna is that found in the Leiden edition of Tabari's *Annales* III (2nd vol.), III¹²—III¹³. It has the appearance of being a verbal copy of the letters, while the text in Abu'l-Mahâsin I, IV^v—IV^f, De Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* II, f¹⁰, Abu'l-Feda *Annales* II, 154 f., and in al-Subki, 136 ff. represents the letters in greatly abridged form. The later writers appear to have used Tabari for their text, for all shew much the same variations from the extended form of the letters found in his work; that is, where they furnish the same portions of the letters (for some of the authorities mentioned have abridged more than others, and in some there is but one or, it may be, two letters found). The above mentioned authorities, beyond the help already gathered from the collation with Abu'l-Mahâsin, do not afford any assistance to improve the text found in Tabari.

measure of God, to know him as he really is, and to distinguish between him and his creation, because of the weakness of their views, the deficiency of their understandings, and their turning aside from reflection and recollection; for they put on an equality God and the Korân which he has revealed. They are all agreed and stand unequivocally in accord with one another that it is eternal and primitive, and that God did not create it, produce it, or give it being; while God himself says in his well-ordered Book, which he appointed as a healing for what is within the breasts and as a mercy and right guidance for the believers, 'We have made it a Korân in the Arabic tongue'¹), and everything which God has made he has created. He says, also, 'Praise be to God who created the heavens and the earth and made the darkness and the light'²). He speaks also thus, 'We will tell thee tidings of that which went before'³); he says here that it is an account of things after whose happening he produced it, and with it he followed up their lead. Then he says, قَالَ, 'A book whose verses were well-ordered, and, then, were divided by order of a Wise and Knowing One'⁴). Now, for everything that is ordered and divided there is one who orders and divides; and God is the one who orders well his Book and the one who divides it, therefore, he is its creator and producer. They, also, are those who dispute with false arguments, and call men to adopt their view. Further, they claim to be followers of the Sunna, while in every chapter of God's Book is an account, which may be read therein, that gives the lie to their position, declares their invitation [to adopt their opinions] to be false, and thrusts back upon them their view and their religious pretensions. But they give out, in spite of that, that they are the people of the truth and the [real] religion and the communion of believers, all others being the people of falsehood, unbelief and schism; and they boast themselves of

1) Korân, 43. 2.

3) Korân, 20. 99.

2) Korân, 6. 1.

4) Korân, 11. 1.

that over their fellows, so deceiving the ignorant, until persons of the false way, who are devoted to the worship of another God than Allah, and who mortify themselves for another cause than that of the true religion, incline toward agreement with them and accordance with their evil opinions, by that means getting to themselves honour with them, and procuring to themselves a leadership and a reputation among them for honorable dealing. Thus they give up the truth for their falsehood, and find apart from God ¹⁾ a supporter for their error. And, so, their testimony is received, because they [sc. the ignorant or people of the false way] declare them [sc. those who *pretend* to be the people of the truth] to be veracious witnesses; and the ordinances of the Korân are executed by them [sc. those who pretend to be the people of the truth] notwithstanding the unsoundness of their religion, the corruption of their honour, and the depravation of their purposes and belief. That is the goal unto which they are urging others, and which they seek in their own practice and in [their] lying against their Lord, though the solemn covenant of the Book is upon them that they should not speak against God except that which is true, and though they have learned what the condition is of "those whom God has made deaf and whose eyes he has blinded. Do they not reflect upon the Korân? or are there locks upon their hearts?" ²⁾ The Commander of the Faithful considers, therefore, that those men are the worst and the chief in error, being deficient in the belief in God's unity, and having an incomplete share in the faith — vessels of ignorance, banners of falsehood, the tongue of Iblis, who speaks through his friends and is terrible to his enemies who are of God's religion; the ones of all others to be mistrusted as to their truthfulness, whose testimony should be rejected, and in whose word and deed one can put no confidence. For one can only do good works after assured persuasion, and there [really] is assured persuasion

1) cf. Korân, 9. 16.

2) Korân, 47. 25—26.

*Concordance
to
the Korân*

only after fully obtaining a real possession of Islâm, and a sincere profession of the faith in God's unity. He, therefore, who is too blind to perceive his right course and his share in the belief in God and in his unity, is, in other respects, as to his conduct and the justness of his testimony, still more blind and erring. By the life of the Commander of the Faithful, the most likely of men to lie in speech and to fabricate a false testimony is the man who lies against God and his revelation, and who does not know God as he really is; and the most deserving of them all to be rejected when he testifies about what God ordains and about his religion is he who rejects God's testimony to his Book and slanders the truth of God by his lying. Now, gather together the kâdis under thy jurisdiction, read unto them this letter of the Commander of the Faithful to thee, and begin to test them to see what they will say, and to discover what they believe concerning the creation of the Korân by God and its production by God. Tell them, also, that the Commander of the Faithful will not ask assistance in his government of one whose religion, whose sincerity of faith in God's unity, and whose [religious] persuasion are not to be trusted, nor will he put confidence in such a man in respect to what God has laid upon him and in the matter of those interests of his subjects which he has given into his charge. And when they have confessed that [sc. that the Korân is created] and accorded with the Commander of the Faithful, and are in the way of right guidance and of salvation, then, bid them to cite the legal witnesses under their jurisdiction, to ask them in reference to the Korân, and to leave off accepting as valid the testimony of him who will not confess that it is created and produced, and refuse thou to let them [the kâdis] countersign it. Write, also, to the Commander of the Faithful the reports that come to thee from the kâdis of thy province as to the result of their inquisition and their ordering that these things be done. Get acquainted with them, and search out their evidences, so that the sentences of God may not be carried out, except on the testimony of such

as have insight into real religion and are sincere in the belief in God's unity, and then, write unto the Commander of the Faithful of what comes of it all. *→ started Mihna*

This letter was written in the month of Rabī' I, 218 A. H., before al-Ma'mûn set out on his last expedition to the frontiers, and about four months before his death. It must be confessed that the spirit of the document is that of the bigot, rather than that of a broad and liberal mind. Nor can we suppose that a man of al-Ma'mûn's character would let a document of this kind be composed in any spirit but his own. Its indications all point to arrogant intellectual self-sufficiency coupled with a contempt of opinions different from those held by himself. The contemptuous Khalif would appear to have been convinced by those about him that he could now safely terrorize the orthodox, securing assent to his own views from such as were weak enough to be frightened by his threats or tortures, and blotting out the obstinate ones from the face of the earth, when they were found incorrigible.

The Beginning of the Mihna elsewhere. Egypt. This letter was sent to all the provinces. The copy of that which was addressed to Kaidar, governor of Egypt, is practically the same as that whose translation has been given, but it did not reach Egypt until the month of Jumâdâ II. The Kâdî in Egypt at this time was Hârûn ibn Abdallah al-Zuhri. He gave in his assent on the test as to the Ḳorân being applied to him, as did also the constituted witnesses except some whose testimony was by their refusal rendered invalid. Kaidar had made a beginning with the examination of the faḳîhs and 'ulamâ, but had evidently adopted no harsh measures, when the news of al-Ma'mûn's death came to him in the month after the receipt of the order for the Mihna. On the receipt of this news the inquisition was suspended¹⁾.

There is mention of some trials for the sake of the Ḳorân at Damascus, but there, as well as in other provinces, little appears to have been done, for the notices are

1) Abu'l-Mah. I, 636, 637.

very slight; and, from the way in which Abu'l-Maḥâsin's record reads, one might infer that the order for the Miḥna to places outside of 'Irâk and Egypt came later than to these places. If this inference be just the time of the inquisition in these other parts must have been short, at least, in the Khalifate of al-Ma'mûn. It is to be concluded, too, that the success of the persecution at Baghdâd led al-Ma'mûn to order a general introduction of the Miḥna throughout his empire.

Damascus. In the year (218) A. H., al-Ma'mûn went in person to Damascus, probably on his last expedition to Asia Minor, and personally conducted the testing of the doctors there concerning [the freedom of the will (عَدَل) and the divine unity], the second of which in his view involved a test as to the creation of the Korân¹). The governor of Damascus under al-Ma'mûn, as well as under his successors, al-Mu'taṣim and

1) al-Ja'qûbî II, 571, The Mu'tazila called themselves the Ahlu't-Tauhîd wa'l-'Adl, the men of the Divine Unity and Righteousness, chiefly for the reason that they, on the one hand, rejected the orthodox view of the Divine attributes and of the Korân as out of harmony with the unitarian faith of Islâm; and held, instead, that the so-called attributes were only empty names, or were not real and distinct existences, but particular presentations of the Divine essence itself: that is, God as wise, God as powerful etc. They, on the other hand, rejected the orthodox doctrine of the Divine foreordination of the actions and destinies of men as inconsistent with the absolute righteousness of God, and held that the human will was free, and man thus the determiner of his own destiny. Hence it is that in polemic literature Ahlu't-Tauhîd wa'l-'Adl has a much more special meaning than that indicated in the beginning of this note, generally standing for those who believe, 1) in the non-existence of the attributes of God or their identity with his essence, and in the creation of the Korân (اعل التوحيد). 2) in the freedom of the will (اهل العدل); cf. Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 55, 92, 133; Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 30, 50 and note 3); Shahrastâni, Haarbrücker's transl'n I, 39, 42.

If Ja'qûbî be correct, Houtsma's statement (p. 108) "dat hij [al-Ma'mûn] niet den vrijen wil ook meteen [with the creation of the Korân] als staatsdogma vaststelde" must be modified. The probabilities are in favour of the Khalif's having done what Ja'qûbî says, though we, in general, do not find Ja'qûbî a very satisfactory authority as far as the Miḥna is concerned. His usual accuracy in recording events is seemingly wanting at this point.

al-Wâthik, was Ishâk ibn Yahya. During the Khalifate of al-Mu'tasim, that Khalif wrote him a letter ordering him to urge the Miḥna on the people under his authority. He, however, dealt leniently with them in regard to the order he had received. In 235 A. H., this man was appointed governor of Egypt by al-Mutawakkil ¹⁾.

Kûfa. When the order came to Kûfa there was a great assembly of the sheikhs in the general mosque of the city, and, on the Khalif's (the name of the Khalif is not given) letter being read to them, the feeling was against yielding to the order it contained. Abû Nu'aim al-Faḍl ibn Dukain, a Kûfite, who died in 219 A. H., said that he had met over 870 teachers, from the aged al-Ḥ'mash to those who were young in years, who did not believe the Korân to be created, and that such teachers as were inclined to the heterodox view were charged by their fellows with being Zindîks (atheists) ²⁾. Abû Nu'aim ibn Dukain was present at the opening of the Miḥna in Kûfa. This fact shews us the approximate date of the event there, for this man, as we have said, died in the year 219 ³⁾.

Citation of the Seven Leaders. The result of the letter of al-Ma'mûn to Baghdâd was to produce, as we may justly conjecture, a feeling of resistance, the most zealous inciter of

1) Abu'l-Mah. I. 711 f.

2) On the origin of the name and its use among the orthodox v. Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 75.

3) al-Maḳrîzî, p. 13, الحافظ أبو نعيم الفضل بن دكين فروي الحافظ

أبو الفرج بسنده إلى محمد بن أحمد بن عمرو بن عيسى قال سمعت
أبي يقول ما رأيت مجلساً أنبل من مجلس اجتمع فيه المشايخ بجامع
الكوفة في وقت الامتحان فقرأ عليهم الكتاب الذي فيه للحنّة فقال
أبو نعيم أدركت ثمانى مائة شيخاً ونيفاً وسبعين شيخاً منهم الأعمش
فمن دونه فما رأيت أحداً يقول بهذه المقالة يعنى بخلف القرآن
ولا تكلم أحد بها إلا رمى بالزندقة

which would be Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal ¹⁾). Still, al-Ma'mūn did not yet venture to apprehend the latter. His next step was one which was calculated to shew him just how far he was safe in going in his enforcement of conformity to his views.

Second He wrote a second letter to Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm, Letter of the governor of 'Irāk, ordering him to send seven al-Ma'mūn of the leading traditionists of Baghdād that he might test them himself. For his purpose, this was a sagacious move. Away from the moral support of their fellow-traditionists, and face to face with the state of the Court and the terrors which the Khalif brought to bear upon their minds, resistance was much more difficult than it would have been at Baghdād. And the compliance of these leaders being secured, smaller men needed not to be feared. The name of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal was, at first, upon the list bearing the names of the seven referred to, but was erased at the instance of Ibn Abi Dowād, — at least, so the latter claimed ²⁾).

Those now summoned ³⁾ to the Court were Moḥammed ibn Sa'd the secretary of al-Wāḳidi, Abū Muslim the amanuensis of Yazīd ibn Hārūn, Yaḥya ibn Ma'in, Zuhair ibn Ḥarb Abū Khaithama, Ismā'il ibn Dāūd, Ismā'il ibn Abi Mas'ūd and Aḥmed ibn Ibrāhīm al-Daurāḳi. These seven men all yielded assent under the pressure which al-Ma'mūn used with them. Having obtained his desire, the Khalif sent the men back to Baghdād, where Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm, acting under al-Ma'mūn's orders, had them repeat their confession before the faḳihs and traditionists ⁴⁾).

Its Effect. The fall of these seven men from orthodoxy was a source of much grief to Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. His judgment

1) The Baghdād people had in the year 215, and even earlier, protested against al-Ma'mūn's heterodoxy touching the Korān, cf. Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 631.

2) Vid. p. 82.

3) Ṭabari III, text of letter not given.

4) Ṭabari III f. A biographical notice of Moḥammed ibn Sa'd is found Ibn Chall. N°. 656; of Yaḥya ibn Ma'in, al-Nawawī, Biog. Dict. p. 628; of Aḥmed ibn al-Daurāḳi, Dhahabī Ṭabaḳāt 8, N°. 98; of Zuhair ibn Ḥarb, id. 8, N°. 23. I have not been able to find notices of the other three.

was that if they had stood their ground nothing more would have been heard of the Miḥna in Baghdād. Al-Ma'mūn would have been afraid to deal harshly with them seeing they were the leading men of the city; but, when they gave way, he had little hesitation in dealing with others¹). Their assent was by themselves excused on the ground of (Takīa) (exemption from observance of religious duty when it involved risk to life), but the real cause of their doing as they did was fear of execution if they had not done so. Yaḥya ibn Ma'in with weeping used to confess that this was the case²). It was unfortunate that the seven leaders proved themselves so weak, for it is not unlikely that their firmness might have deterred al-Ma'mūn from prosecuting further his effort for uniformity of belief; and after his death, the succeeding Khalifs were not such as would likely have revived an inquisition like this when it had once been given up.

Third Letter. A third letter from the Khalif was now sent to Baghdād to Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm the governor. Its text was as follows³). That which God has a right to expect from his vicegerents (khalifs) on his earth [and] those entrusted by him with rule over his servants, upon whom he

1) al-Maḥḥẓat, p. 4, وقاموا صبروا ولو كانوا صبروا [قل أحمد بن حنبل] فاجابوا ولو كانوا صبروا وقاموا
 لله لكان انقطع الامر وحذرهم الرجل يعنى المامون ولكن لما اجابوا
 وهم عين البلد اجترأ على غيرهم وكان ابو عبد الله اذا ذكرهم
 يفتنهم ويقول عم اول من ظلم هذه الثلاثة

2) al-Subḥī, p. 137, وسبب طلبهم انهم توقفوا اولاً ثم اجابوه تقية
 وكتب الى اسحق بن ابراهيم بان يحضر الفقهاء ومشايع الحديث
 ويخيرهم بما اجاب به فؤاد السبعة ففعل ذلك فاجابه طائفة وامتنع
 آخرون فكان يحيى بن معين [وغیره] يقول اجبنا
 خوفاً من السيف

3) Tabari III, 114v ff.

has been pleased to lay the maintenance of his religion, the care of his creatures, the carrying out of his ordinance and his laws, and the imitation of his justice in his world, is that they should exert themselves earnestly for God, do him good service in respect to that which he asks them to guard and lays upon them, make him known by that excellency of learning which he has entrusted to them and the knowledge which he has placed within them, guide to him the one who has turned aside from him, bring back him who has turned his back on his command, mark out for their subjects the way of their salvation, tell them about the limits of their faith and the way of their deliverance and protection, and discover to them those things which are hidden from them, and the things which are doubtful to them [clear up] by means of that which will remove doubt from them and bring back enlightenment and clear knowledge unto them all. And [part of that which he claims of them is] that they should begin that by making them go in the right way, and by causing them to see [things] clearly, because this involves all their actions, and comprehends their portion of felicity in this world and the next. They [the Khalifs] ought to reflect how God is one who holds himself ready to question them about that for which they have been made responsible, and to reward them for that which they have done in advance and that which they have laid up in store with him. The help of the Commander of the Faithful is alone in God, and his sufficiency is God, who is enough for him. Of that which the Commander of the Faithful by his reflection has made plain, and has come to know by his thinking, and the great danger of which is clear, as well as the seriousness of the corruption and harm which will come to religion thereby, are the sayings which the Muslims are passing round among themselves as to the Kōrān, which God made to be an imām and a lasting monument for them from God's Messenger and elect Servant, Moḥammed, and [another thing is] the confusedness of the opinion of many of them about it [sc. the Kōrān] until it has seemed good in their

opinions and right in their minds that it has not been created; and, thus, they expose themselves to the risk of denying the creating by God of all things, by which [act] he is distinguished from his creation. He in his glory stands apart in the bringing into being of all things by his wisdom and the creation of them by his power, and in his priority in time over them by reason of his being Primitive Existence, whose beginning cannot be attained and whose duration cannot be reached. Everything apart from him is a creature from his creation, — a new thing which he has brought into existence. [This perverted opinion they hold] though the *Ḳorân* speaks clearly of God's creating all things, and proves it to the exclusion of all difference of opinion. They are, thus, like the Christians when they claim that 'Isâ ibn Maryam was not created because he was the Word of God' ¹). But God says, 'Verily we have made it a *Ḳorân* in the Arabic language' ²); and the explanation of that is, 'Verily we have created it', just as the *Ḳorân* says, 'And he made from it his mate that he might dwell with her' ³). Also, it says, 'We have made the night as a garment and the day as a means of gain' ⁴). 'We have made every living thing from water' ⁵). God thus puts on equal footing the *Ḳorân* and these creatures which he mentions with the indication of 'making'. And he tells that he alone is the One who made it, saying, 'Verily it is a glorious *Ḳorân* (something to be read) on a well-guarded table' ⁶). Now, he says that on the supposition that the *Ḳorân* is limited by the table, and only that which is created can be limited (by surrounding bounds) ⁷). He says, likewise, to his Prophet, 'Do not move in it thy tongue to make haste in it' ⁸). Also, 'That which came to them was a newly created religion (دِين) from their Lord' ⁹).

1) cf. Sura 112; cf. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, p. 90 and note.

2) *Ḳorân*, 43. 2.

3) *Ḳorân*, 7. 189.

4) *Ḳorân*, 78. 10.

5) *Ḳorân*, 21. 31.

6) cf. *Ḳorân*, 85. 21—22.

7) cf. Shahrastâni, *Haarbrücker's transl'n* I, 72, l. 20 ff.

8) *Ḳorân*, 75. 16.

9) *Ḳorân*, 21. 2.

Also, 'And who is a worse liar than the man who inventeth a lie against God or charges his verses with being false' ¹⁾. He tells, too, about men whom he blames because of their lying, in that they say, 'God has not sent down [by revelation] to men anything' ²⁾. Then, by the tongue of his Messenger he declares them liars, and says to his Messenger, 'Say, who sent down the book which Moses brought?' ³⁾. So God calls the *Ḳorân* something to be read, something to be kept in memory, a faith, a light, a right guidance, a blessed thing, a thing in the Arabic language, and a narration. For he says, 'We relate unto thee a most beautiful narration in that which we reveal unto thee, — this *Ḳorân*' ⁴⁾. Furthermore, he says, 'Say, surely, if men and jinns were gathered together to bring forth such as this *Ḳorân*, they could not bring forth one like it' ⁵⁾. Also, 'Say, bring ten suras fabricated like it' ⁶⁾. Also, 'Falsehood shall not come up to it either from before or after it' ⁷⁾. Thus, he puts [at least, by possibility] something before and after it, and so indicates that it is finite and created. But these ignorant people, by their teaching concerning the *Ḳorân*, have made large the breach in their religion and the defect in their trustworthiness, they have also levelled the way for the enemy of Islâm, and confess fickleness and heresy against their own hearts, [going on] even till they make known and describe God's creation and his action by that description which appertains to God alone, and they compare him with it, whilst only his creation may be the subject of comparison. The Commander of the Faithful does not consider that he who professes this view has any share in the real religion, or any part in the real faith and in well-grounded persuasion. Nor does he consider that he should set any one of them down as a trustworthy person in regard to his being admitted as

1) *Ḳorân*, 6. 21.

3) *ibid.*

5) *Ḳorân*, 17. 90.

7) *Ḳorân*, 41. 42.

2) *Ḳorân*, 6. 91.

4) *Ḳorân*, 12. 3.

6) *Ḳorân*, 11. 16.

امین — قَدْل or شَاعِد or as one to be relied upon in speech or report, or in the exercise of authority over his subjects.

Now, if any of them seem to act with equity, and to be known by his straightforwardness, still, the branches are to be carried back to their roots, and the burden of praise or blame is to be according to these. Thus, whosoever is ignorant in the matter of his religion, concerning that which God has commanded him in reference to his unity, he, as regards other things, is still more ignorant, and is too blind and erring to see the right way in other matters. Now, read the letter of the Commander of the Faithful unto thee to Ja'far ibn 'Isâ and Abd al-Rahmân ibn Ishâk the kâdî, and cite them both to answer for their knowledge respecting the Korân, telling them that the Commander of the Faithful in the affairs of the Muslims will not ask the assistance of any but those in whose sincerity of faith and whose belief in God's unity he has confidence, and that he has no belief in God's unity who does not confess that the Korân is created. And, if they profess the view of the Commander of the Faithful in this particular, then, order them to test those who are in their courts for the giving of evidence touching rights of claimants, and [order them] to cite them to answer for their profession in respect to the Korân. He who does not profess it to be created, let them declare his testimony invalid and refrain from giving sentence on what he says, even if his integrity be established by the equity and straightforwardness of his conduct. Do this with all the kâdîs in thy province, and examine them with such an examination as God can cause to increase the rightmindedness of the rightminded, and prevent those who are in doubt from neglecting their religion. Then, write unto the Commander of the Faithful of what thou hast done in this matter.

Citation of Following out the instructions of this letter, Ishâk the Doctors ibn Ibrâhîm summoned to his presence a number in Baghdâd of the fa'kîhs, doctors and traditionists¹). Among

¹) Tabari III, 111 ff. is followed throughout the passage.

those summoned were Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, Bishr ibn al-Walīd al-Kindī, Abū Ḥassān al-Ziyādī, 'Alī ibn Abī Muḳātil, al-Faḍl ibn Ghānim, Obaidallah ibn 'Omar al-Ḳawāriri, 'Alī ibn al-Ja'd, al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥammād al-Sajjāda¹⁾, al-Dhayyāl ibn al-Haitham, Ḳutaiba ibn Sa'īd, who seems to have been only temporarily in Baghdād, Sa'dawaih, Sa'īd ibn Sulaimān Abū 'Othmān al-Wāsiṭī²⁾, Ishāk ibn Abī Isrā'il, Ibn al-Harsh, Ibn 'Ulayya al-Akbar, Moḥammed ibn Nūḥ al-Maḍrūb al-'Ijlī³⁾, Yaḥya ibn Abd al-Raḥmān al-'Omarī, Abū Naṣr al-Tammār, Abū Ma'mar al-Ḳaṭīfi, Moḥammed ibn Ḥātim ibn Maimūn, a sheikh of the descendants of 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who was ḳāḍī of al-Raḳqa, Ibn al-Farrukhān, al-Naḍr ibn Shumail, Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāk, Ibn Bakkā al-Akbar, Aḥmed ibn Yazīd ibn al-'Awwām Abu 'l-Awwām al-Bazzāz, Ibn Shujā and Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī ibn 'Āsim. Others are mentioned in the account of the investigation which follows.

When these men were brought before Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm, he read to them twice al-Ma'mūn's letter until they grasped its meaning and, then, asked them for their assent to the doctrine which the Khalif propounded. At first, they tried subterfuges and would neither affirm nor deny that the *Ḳo-Bishr ibn rān* was created. The first to whom Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm put the test was Bishr ibn al-Walīd. 'What dost thou say respecting the *Ḳorān*?' he asked; and Bishr replied, 'I have more than once made my view known to the Commander of the Faithful'. Ishāk said, 'But this letter is a new thing from the Commander of the Faithful. What is your view?' Bishr answered, 'I say the *Ḳorān* is the Word of God'. Ishāk. 'I did not ask thee for that. Is it created?' Bishr. 'God is the creator of everything'. Ishāk. 'Is not the *Ḳorān* a thing?' Bishr. 'It is a thing'. Ishāk. 'And, there-

1) Abu'l-Mah. I. 638 and al-Makrizi, p. 4, supply the name of Sajjāda

الحسن بن حماد المعروف بسجادة.

2) Abu'l-Mah. I, 665, supplies the name of Sa'dawaih.

3) Abu'l-Mah. I, 648; al-Subki, p. 138, adds المصروب.

fore, created?' Bishr. 'It is not a creator'. Ishâk. 'I did not ask for this. Is it created?' Bishr then confessed that he had yielded as far as he could yield, and could give no further answer; he contended, moreover, that the Khalif had given him a dispensation from speaking his mind on the subject. The governor now took up a sheet of paper that lay before him and read and explained it to Bishr. Then, he said, 'Testify that there is no God but Allah, one and alone, before whom nothing was and after whom nothing shall be and like to whom is nothing of his creation, in any sense whatsoever or in any wise whatsoever'). Bishr said, 'I testify that and scourge those who do not testify it'. Ishâk then turned to the secretary and said, 'Write down what he has said'.

'*Ali ibn Abi* Turning next to '*Ali ibn Abi Muḳātil* he asked *Muḳātil*. for his confession. He replied, 'I have told my opinion about this to the Commander of the Faithful more than once, and have nothing different to say'. The written test was then read to 'Ali and he gave the confession it required. Then the governor said, 'Is the *Ḳorân* created?' 'Ali answered, 'The *Ḳorân* is God's Word'. Ishâk, as in the case of Bishr, told him he had not asked for that, and 'Ali answered, 'It is the Word of God; if, however, the Commander of the Faithful command us to do a thing we will yield him obedience'. Again, the scribe was bidden to record what had been said.

The next was al-Dhayyâl whose replies were in the same strain as those of 'Ali.

(*Abû Hassân*). In the reply of *Abû Hassân* there is something naïvely submissive. 'The *Ḳorân* is the Word of God', he said, 'and God is the creator of everything; all things apart from

1) Houtsma (*De Strijd* etc. 108 *infra*) seems to imply that this written 'credo', which was to be subscribed by those to whom it was put, contained a confession that the *Ḳorân* was created. As Ṭabarî presents the case the document demanded only a profession of faith in God's unity. Its purpose was evidently to support the separate oral test as to the *Ḳorân*. None seem to have had any scruples about giving assent to the written test, while all would have avoided the other, had it been possible.

him are created. But the Commander of the Faithful is our imâm, and through him we have heard the whole sum of learning. He has heard what we have not heard, and knows what we do not know. God also has laid upon him the rule over us. He maintains our Hajj and our prayers; we bring to him our Zakât; we fight with him in the Jihâd, and we recognize fully his imâmate. Therefore, if he command us we will perform his behest, if he forbid us we will refrain, and if he call upon us we will respond'. Ishâk said, 'This is the view of the Commander of the Faithful'. Abû Hassân rejoined, 'True! but sometimes the view of the Commander of the Faithful is one concerning which he gives no command to people, and which he does not call upon them to adopt; if, however, you tell me that the Commander of the Faithful has commanded thee that I should say this, I will say what thou dost command me to say, for thou art a man to be trusted and one on whom reliance is to be placed in respect to anything you may tell me from him. If, then, you order me to do anything, I will do it'. The governor's reply was, 'He has not commanded me to tell thee anything'. Abû Hassân said, 'I mean only to obey; command me and I will perform it'. Ishâk said, 'He has not commanded me to command thee, but only to test thee'. The examination of Abû Hassân ends here.

Ahmed ibn Hanbal. In the case of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Ibn Bakkâ al-Asghar suggested to Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm that he should ask him about the expression of the Korân, 'He is the Hearing and Seeing One', which Ahmed had used in his confession. Ahmed, in harmony with the principles of men of his class, answered only, 'He is even as he has described himself'. Being further pressed to explain the words, he said, 'I do not know; he is even as he has described himself'. He was firm in adhering to the confession that the Korân was the Word of God, and would add nothing to it by way of compromise or admission. Those who were examined subsequently all followed Ahmed's example except Kutaiba, Obaidallah ibn Mohammed ibn al-Hasan, Ibn

'Ulayya al-Akbar, Ibn al-Bakkâ, Abd al-Mun'im ibn Idris ibn Bint Wahb ibn Munabbih, al-Muẓaffir ibn Murajjâ, another man not a faḳih who happened to be present, Ibn al-Aḥmar and the 'Omari Kâḏi of al-Raḳqa. The answers of these are not furnished us but the implication seems to be that they compromised themselves. On this occasion when Aḥmed perceived the assent of his companions as the test *Ibn al-Bakkâ* was applied he was intensely angry ¹⁾. Ibn al-Bakkâ al-Akbar also compromised himself, but not fully, and with better grace than some of his fellows, for he stood on the ground of the Ḳorân text in making the admissions which he made. These admissions were that the Ḳorân was, on the one hand, something 'made' (مَجْعُولٌ) and, on the other hand, something 'newly produced' (مُخْدَتٌ). For the former position the text adduced was one cited by the Khalif in arguing that the Ḳorân was created (مَخْلُوقٌ), namely, Ḳor. 43 : 2, 'Verily we have made it a Ḳorân (reading) in the Arabic language'. For the latter position the text was, likewise, one cited by the Khalif in his argument, Ḳor. 21 : 2, 'What came to them from their Lord was a newly produced religion (ذِكْرٌ)'. Ishâk asked Ibn al-Bakkâ if the term مَجْعُولٌ were not the same in meaning as مَخْلُوقٌ,

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد ثنا عبد الله 1466 1) Abû Nu'aim, ابن احمد بن حنبل حدثني ابو معمر القطيعي قال لما احضرنا في دار السلطان* ايام الماحنة وكان ابو عبد الله احمد ابن حنبل قد احضر فلما رأى الناس يجيئون انتفخت اوداجه واحمرت عيناه وذهب ذلك اللين الذي كان فيه فقلت انه قد غضب لله قال ابو معمر فلما رايت ما به قلت يا ابا عبد الله ابشر

and he answered that it was. Then the Kōrān is created (مَخْلُوقٌ)?' said the governor. 'Nay, that I will not say. I say it is something made (مَجْعُولٌ)', was the answer. [unclear]

After all the other cases had been disposed of Ibn al-Bakkā al-Asghar remarked that 'the two kâdis', whom we assume to be Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāk and Ja'far ibn 'Isā, should be examined; but the governor said they held to the same profession as the Commander of the Faithful. Ibn al-Bakkā suggested that if they were ordered to tell their opinion it could be reported to the Khalif for them. The governor, however, seems to have been determined to avoid the examination of the two kâdis, probably, to save one who may have been his own son from exposure and humiliation. He simply said to the provoking questioner, 'If thou wilt serve as witness ¹⁾ before them thou shalt know their opinion'.

Fourth Letter. Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm then wrote to al-Ma'mūn a detailed account of the answers received, and after a delay of nine days again summoned the doctors to hear the Khalif's reply. The following is a version of the letter ²⁾; — The Commander of the Faithful has received your answer to his letter touching that which the ostentatious among the followers of the Kibla and those who seek among the people of religion a leadership for which they are not the right persons, believe about the doctrine of the Kōrān, in which letter of his the Commander of the Faithful commanded thee to test them, and discover their positions and put them in their right places. Thou dost mention thy summoning of Ja'far ibn 'Isā and Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāk on the arrival of the Commander of the Faithful's letter, together with those whom thou didst summon of those classed as faḳīhs and known as doctors of Tradition and who set themselves up to give legal

1) ابن شہدت عندهما بشهادة.

2) Tabari III, 1170 ff.

decisions in Baghdād, and [thou dost speak of] thy reading unto them all the letter of the Commander of the Faithful. [Thou hast mentioned], too, thy asking of them as to their faith touching the Korān and [thy] pointing out to them their real interest; also, their agreeing to put away anthropomorphic conceptions and their difference of view in the matter of the Korān; further, thy ordering of those who did not confess it to be created to refrain from Tradition and from giving decisions in private or in public. [Thou hast mentioned], too, thy giving orders unto al-Sindī and Abbās the client of the Commander of the Faithful, to the same effect as thou didst give orders concerning them unto the two kâdis, even the same which the Commander of the Faithful prescribed to thee, namely, the testing of the statutory witnesses who are in their courts. Again, [thou hast mentioned] the sending abroad of letters unto the kâdis in the several parts of thy province that they should come to thee, so that thou mightest proceed to test them according to that which the Commander of the Faithful has defined, whilst thou hast put down at the end of the letter the names of those who were present and their views. Now, the Commander of the Faithful understands what thou hast reported, and the Commander of the Faithful praises God much, even as he is the One to whom such belongs; and he asks him to bless his Servant and his Messenger, Moḥammed, and he prays God to help him to obey him, [sc. God] and to give him [sc. the Khalif], by his grace, effectual aid in his good purpose. The Commander of the Faithful has also thought over what thou hast written relating to the names of those whom thou hast asked about the Korān, and what each of them answered thee touching it, and what thou hast explained as his view. As for what the deluded Bishr ibn al-Walid says about putting away anthropomorphic conceptions, and that from which he keeps himself back in the matter of the Korān's being created, while he lays claim to leave off speaking on that subject as having had an engagement [to that effect] with the Commander of the Faithful,

Bishr has lied about that, and has acted as an unbeliever, speaking that which is to be refused credit and false; for there has not passed a compact or exchange of opinion in respect to this or any other matter between the Commander of the Faithful and himself, more than that the Commander of the Faithful told him of his belief in the doctrine of the *Ikhhlâs* [i. e. the belief in the unity of God] and in that of the creation of the *Ḳorân*. Call him before thee; tell him what the Commander of the Faithful has told thee in the matter; cite him to answer about the *Ḳorân* and ask him to recant; for the Commander of the Faithful thinks that thou shouldst ask to recant one who professes his view, seeing that such a view is unmixed infidelity and sheer idolatry in the mind of the Commander of the Faithful. Should he repent, then, publish it and let him alone; but, should he be obstinate in his idolatry and refuse in his infidelity and heterodoxy to confess that the *Ḳorân* is created, then ^{mad!} behead him and send his head to the Commander of the Faithful.) In the same way, also, deal with *Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdi*. Test him as thou hast tested Bishr, for he professes his view and reports about him have reached the Commander of the Faithful; and, if he say that the *Ḳorân* is created, then publish it and make it known; but, if not, behead him and send his head to the Commander of the Faithful¹⁾. As for *‘Alî ibn Abî Muḳâtil*, say to him, "Art thou not the man who said to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Thou art the one to declare what is lawful and unlawful'? and who told him what thou didst tell him?" the recollection of which cannot yet have left him [sc. *‘Alî*]. And as for *al-Dhayyâl ibn al-Haitham*, tell him that what should occupy his mind is the corn which he formerly stole in *al-Anbâr*, when he administered the government in the city of the Commander of the Faithful, *Abu’l-Abbâs*²⁾; and that, if he were a follower in the footsteps of his forefathers, and went in their ways only, and

1) On death penalty for heresy cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 216.

2) cf. *Ṭabarî* III, 1, 18, seq.; *De Goeje*, *Bibl. Geog.* VII, 17^v, 5 seq.

pushed on in their path, surely he would not go off into idolatry after having believed.) As for Ahmed ibn Yazid, known as Abu'l-'Awwâm, and his saying that he cannot well answer about the Korân, tell him that he is a child in his understanding, though not in his years, — an ignoramus; and that, if he do not see his way clear to answer he shall see his way clear to answer when he is disciplined, but should he not do it then, the sword will follow. As for Ahmed ibn Hanbal and that which thou hast written about him, tell him that the Commander of the Faithful understands the import of that view and the manner of his conduct in it; and, from what he knows, he infers his ignorance and the weakness of his intellect. (As for al-Faql ibn Ghânim, tell him that what he did in Egypt, and the riches which he acquired in less than a year are not hidden from the Commander of the Faithful, nor what passed in legal strife between him and al-Muṭṭalib ibn Abdallah about that; for a man who did as he did, and who has a greedy desire for dinârs and dirhems as he has, can be believed to barter his faith out of desire for money, and because he prefers his present advantage to everything else.) [Remind him] that he, besides, is the one who said to 'Alî ibn Hishâm what he did say, and opposed him in that in which he did oppose him. And what was it that caused his change of opinion and brought him over to another? And as for al-Ziyâdî, tell him that he is calling himself a client of the first false pretender in Islâm in whose case the ordinance of the Messenger of God was infringed. It is in harmony with his character that he should go in the way he goes. (But Abû Ḥassân denied that he was a client of Ziyâd or of anyone else, adding that he had the name of Ziyâd [ibn abihi] for some other reason¹). As for Abû Naṣr al-Tammâr, the Commander of the Faithful compares the insignificance of his understanding with the insignificance of his business [date-merchant]. And as for al-Faql ibn al-

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¹) This parenthesis represents a gloss in Ṭabarî III, IIIA, II. 6—8, (line 7 read وَلَمْ يَكُنْ for وَلَمْ يَكُنْ).

Farrukhân, tell him that by the doctrine which he professes respecting the *Ḳorân* he is trying to keep the deposits which Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Ishâk and others entrusted to him, lying in wait for such as will ask him to undertake trusts, and hoping to increase that which has come into his hand; for which there is no recovery from him, because of the long duration of the compact and the length of time of its existence. But say to Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Ishâk, 'May God not reward thee with good for thy giving of power to the like of this man and thy putting of confidence in him, seeing that he is devoted to idolatry and disjoined from belief in God's unity!' And as for Moḥammed ibn Ḥâtîm, and Ibn Nûḥ, and him who is known as Abû Ma'mar, tell them that they are too much taken up with the devouring of usury to grasp properly the doctrine of the divine unity, and that, if the Commander of the Faithful had sought legal justification to attack them for the sake of God, and make a crusade against them on the sole ground of their practice of usury and that which the *Ḳorân* has revealed concerning such as they, he surely might have found it lawful; how will it be, then, now that they have joined idolatry to their practice of usury, and have become like the Christians? And as for Aḥmed ibn Shujâ', tell him that not long ago thou wast with him, and thou didst extort from him that which he confiscated of the riches belonging to 'Alî ibn Hishâm; and [tell him] that his religion is found in dinârs and dirhems. And as for Sa'dawaih al-Wâsiṭî, say to him, 'May God make abominable the man whose ostentatious preparing of himself for a 'colloquium doctum' on Tradition, while hoping to gain honour by that and desiring to be a leader in it, carries him so far that he wishes for the coming of the Miḥna, and thinks to ingratiate himself with me by it; let him be tried; [if he yield] he may still teach Tradition. And as for him who is known as Sajjâda and his denying that he heard from those traditionists and faḳîhs with whom he studied the doctrine that the *Ḳorân* is created, tell him that in his preparing of date-stones and his rubbing in order to improve

his sajjâda ¹⁾, and likewise in his care for the deposits which 'Alî ibn Yaḥya and others left in trust with him lies that which occupies his attention so that he forgets the doctrine of the divine unity and that which makes him unmindful [of it]. Then ask him about what Yûsuf ibn Abî Yûsuf and Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan used to say, if he have seen them and studied with them. As for al-Ḳawârîrî, in what has been made known of his doings, in his receiving of gifts and bribes, lies that which sets in a clear light his real opinions, the evil of his conduct and the weakness of his understanding and his religion. It has also reached the Commander of the Faithful that he has taken upon himself the [settlement of] questions for Ja'far ibn 'Isâ al-Ḥasanî; so, order Ja'far ibn 'Isâ to give him up, and to abandon reliance upon him and acquiescence in what he says. And as for Yaḥya ibn Abd al-Raḥmân al-'Omari, if he were of the descendants of 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb, it is well known what he would answer. And as for Moḥammed ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî ibn 'Âsim, if he were an imitator of his ancestors, he would not profess that profession which has been related of him ²⁾. He is yet a child and needs to be taught. Now, the Commander of the Faithful is sending to thee also, him who is known as Abû Mushir ³⁾, after that the Commander of the Faithful has cited him to answer in his testing about the Ḳorân; but he mumbled about it and stammered over it, until the Commander of the Faithful ordered the sword to be brought for him, when he confessed in the manner of one worthy to be blamed. Now, cite him to answer about his confession; and, if he stand fast in it, then, make it known and publish it. But those who will not give up their idolatry, and profess that the Ḳorân is created, of those whom thou hast named in thy letter to the Commander of the

1) Callous patch of skin on the forehead produced, when genuine, by oft-repeated religious prostrations; when an imposture, by rubbing the skin.

2) Ṭabarî, III, 113. read حَكِيَّتْ.

3) d. 218 A. H. Dhahabî Tabakât 7, N°. 62.

Faithful and whom the Commander of the Faithful has mentioned or refrained from mentioning to thee in this letter of his, except Bishr ibn al-Walid and Ibrâhîm ibn al-Mahdî, send them all in bonds to the camp of the Commander of the Faithful in charge of a watch and guards for their journey, until they bring them to the camp of the Commander of the Faithful and deliver them up to those to whom the delivery has been ordered¹⁾ to be made, so that the Commander of the Faithful may cite them to answer; and, then, if they do not give up their view and recant, he will bring them all to the sword. The Commander of the Faithful sends this letter by extra post [courier's letterbag] instead of waiting till all the letters have been gathered for the post, seeking to advance in the favor of God by the decree he has issued and hoping to attain his purpose, and to gain the ample reward of God thereby. So, give effect to the order of the Commander of the Faithful that comes to thee, and hasten to answer by extra post [y. above] about that which thou hast done, not waiting for the other letter-bags, so that thou mayest tell the Commander of the Faithful of what they will do.

Recantation of the Doctors. On this letter being read all of those mentioned in it recanted, with the exception of Ahmed ibn Hanbal, Sajjâda, al-Kawâriri and Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ al-Madrûb. These four were then cast into prison in chains and next day were again brought before the governor and given a chance to recant. Of this chance Sajjâda availed himself and was set free²⁾. The following day, also, they were brought from the prison and given another opportunity to yield, which Obaidallah ibn 'Omar al-Kawâriri *Ahmed and Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ Refuse to Recant.* embraced and received his liberty. Thus Ahmed and Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ alone of those cited to appear remained firm in their faith; the others Ahmed always excused on the ground of the Takia

1) Variant ^{١٠} *يؤمر* adopted in the translation.

2) Abu'l-Mah. I, 738, says Sajjâda 'stood firm in the Sunna'.

as supported by Korân, 16. 108, 'Except him who is forced, though he have no pleasure in it, while his heart rests in the faith').

and are Ishâk the governor now wrote a letter giving Cited to the results of his examination of the doctors').

Tarsus. Shortly after this, al-Ma'mûn ordered Ishâk ibn Ibrahim to send Ahmed ibn Hanbal and Mohammed ibn Nûh in chains to him to Tarsus. On their journey when they were in the neighbourhood of al-Anbâr Abû Ja'far al-Anbârî crossed the Euphrates to see Ahmed in the khân where he was lodged, and reminded him of his responsibility as the leader to whom all men looked for an example. If he answered favorably, they, too, would assent to the doctrine; but should he refuse to assent, a great many, if not all, would be held back from recantation. He told him, besides, to remember that death would come to him in the natural course of things, and exhorted him, in view of what he had said, to maintain the integrity of his faith').

1) Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 69 and note; al-Makrizî, p. 4, وكان أبو عبد الله رحمه الله يُقيم عذرهما ويقول أنيس قد حبسا وقيدا قل الله تعالى إلا من أكره وقلبه مطمئن بالإيمان [Kor. 16. 108] ثم قال أبو عبد الله رحمه الله انقيد كره والكيس كره والضرب كره فأما إذا لم ينل بمكره فلا عذر له

2) Tabari, III, 1131.

3) al-Makrizî, p. 4, ثم ورد كتاب المأمون إلى إسحاق بن إبراهيم يحمل إلى عبد الله ومحمد بن نوح إليه ببلاد الروم فحملا وذكر ابن الجوزي بسنده إلى أبي جعفر الأنباري [الابيارى, p. 136, أنه قال لما حمل أحمد إلى المأمون أخبرت فعبرت الفرات فلما هو جالس فسلمت عليه فقلل يابا جعفر تعنتت فقلت ليس في هذا هناء وقلت له أنت اليوم راس والناس يقتدون بك فوالله لئن اجبت

In pursuance of the Khalif's order the two unyielding theologians were borne on camels from Baghdād, Aḥmed's companion in the maḥmal being a man called Aḥmed ibn Ghassān. As they were on the way Aḥmed told his companion that he had a firm conviction that the messenger of al-Ma'mūn, Rajā al-Ḥiqārī, would meet them that night; and, in fact, Rajā al-Ḥiqārī did meet them and the prisoners were transferred to his care, but he was not allowed to proceed far with his charge before the news of the Khalif's death relieved him of the obligation to bring the men to Tarsus. When he had conducted them as far as Adhana, and was just setting out with them at night, a man met them in the gate of the town with news that al-Ma'mūn had just died at the river Bodhandhūn [Ποδενδουν] in Asia Minor, after leaving as a last charge to his successor to prosecute vigorously the Miḥna ¹).

الى خلق القرآن ليُجيبين باجابتك خلق من خلق الله وان انت
لم تجب ليمتنعن خلق من الناس كثير ومع هذا فان الرجل
يعنى المامون ان لم يقتلك تمت ولا بُد من الموت فثق بالله ولا
تجبر الى شيء قل فاجعل ابو عبد الله يبكى ويقول ما شاء الله ما
شاء الله

1) Abū Nu'aim, 147 a, 147 b, (al-Subkī, p. 139, cf. al-Makrizī, p. 4
infra, a fuller account), قال احمد بن غسان خُملتُ انا واحمدُ بن
حنبل في محمل على جمل يُرادُ بنا المامون فلما صرنا قُربَ عانة
قل لي احمد قلبي يُحس ان رجاء الحِصارى يلقى في هذه الليلة فان
الى وانا نائم فايقظنى وان انى وانت نائم ايقظتك
فلم يكن باسرع ان خرَج علينا رجاء الحِصارى فقتل ابن هلاء
الاشقياء فقال احمد يا عدُو الله انت تقول القرآن مخلوق وتكفر بحسن
الاشقياء قل [احمد بن غسان] فلنزلنا من الحامل وصيرنا في خيمة
. قال والله ما مضى الثلث الاول من الليل الا ونحن

Al-Ma'mûn Re- In the meantime, al-Ma'mûn had received
jects the Plea word that those who had recanted had done
of Takia Offered so claiming the Takia as a justification, in ac-
by the Doctors. cordance with the dispensation granted in the
 Korân to such as are forced to confess a *false* faith, while
 their hearts continue to hold fast to the true¹). This, of
 course, meant that what the Khalif believed and had pro-
 pounded to them was false, a conclusion with which he was
 by no means satisfied, and, therefore, wrote again to Ishâk

بصِيْحَةٍ وَصَحْبَةٍ وَأَنَا رَجَاءُ الْحِصَارِ قَدْ أَقْبَلَ عَلَيْنَا فَقَالَ صَدَقْتَ
 يَا أَبَا عَبْدِ اللَّهِ الْقُرْآنُ كَلَامُ اللَّهِ غَيْرُ مَخْلُوقٍ قَدْ مَاتَ وَاللَّهُ أَمِيرٌ

أَمِيرٌ [Ahmed had previously prayed for a Divine interposition to
 demonstrate that he was in the right way].

فَلَمَّا صِرْنَا إِلَى الْآفَئَةِ وَرَحَلْنَا مِنْهَا وَنَزَلْنَا فِي جُوفِ اللَّيْلِ فُتِحَ لَنَا [1478]
 بَابُهَا فَلَقِينَا رَجُلًا وَنَحْنُ خَارِجُونَ مِنَ الْبَابِ وَهُوَ دَاخِلٌ فَقَالَ الْبُشْرَى
 قَدْ مَاتَ الرَّجُلُ قَالَ أَبِي وَكُنْتُ أَدْعُو اللَّهَ أَنْ لَا أَرَاهُ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ صَالِحُ
 فَصَارَ أَبِي وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ نُوحٍ إِلَى طَرْسُوسَ وَجَاءَ نَعَى الْمَأمُونِ مِنَ الْبُزْدَنْجُونِ
 فَرَدَّاهُمَا إِلَى الرَّقَّةِ وَخَرَجَا مِنَ الرَّقَّةِ فِي سَفِينَةٍ مَعَ قَوْمٍ
 مُخَبَّسِينَ فَلَمَّا صَارَا بِعَانَتِ تَوَفَّى مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ نُوحٍ رَحِمَهُ اللَّهُ وَتَقَدَّمَ
 إِلَى فَصْلَى عَلَيْهِ ثُمَّ صَارَ إِلَى بَغْدَادَ وَهُوَ مُقْبِدٌ فَمَكَثَ بِالْيَاسَرِيَّةِ
 أَيَّامًا ثُمَّ صُتِرَ إِلَى الْحَبْسِ فِي دَارِ اكْتَرِبَتِ عِنْدَ دَارِ عُمَارَةَ ثُمَّ نُقِلَ بَعْدَ
 ذَلِكَ إِلَى حَبْسِ الْعَامَةِ فِي دَرْبِ التَّوَصُّلِيَّةِ فَمَكَثَ فِي الْحَبْسِ مِنْذُ
 اخْتُذِلَ وَحُمِلَ إِلَى أَنْ ضُرِبَ وَخَلِيَ عَنْهُ ثَمَانِيَّةٌ وَعَشْرِينَ شَهْرًا قَالَ أَبِي
 فَكُنْتُ أَصْلَى بِهِمْ وَأَنَا مُقْبِدٌ وَكُنْتُ أَرَى بُسْرَانَ يَحْمِلُ لَهُ فِي زَوْقٍ
 مَاءً بَارِدًا فَيُذْهَبُ بِهِ إِلَيْهِ إِلَى السَّجَنِ،

¹) Tabari III, 1134 f.; De Goeje, *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* II, 465 f.; Abu'l-Feda
Annales II, 155.

ibn Ibrâhîm to tell Bishr ibn al-Walîd and the others who had pleaded that their case was similar to that of 'Ammâr ibn Yâsir contemplated in the Kōrân's dispensation to recusants, that there was no similarity between the cases. He had openly professed a false religion, while at heart a Muslim; they had openly professed the truth while in *and Orders* their hearts believing what was false. To settle *Them to be* matters they must all be sent to Tarsus, there to *Sent to* await such time as the Khalif should leave Asia *Him.*

Minor. The following men were therefore sent after Aḥmed and his company: Bishr ibn al-Walîd, al-Faḍl ibn Ghânim, 'Alî ibn Abî Muḳâtil, al-Dhayyâl ibn al-Haiṭham, Yaḥya ibn Abd al-Raḥmân al-'Omârî, 'Alî ibn al-Ja'd, Abu'l-'Awwâm, Sajjâda, al-Ḳawârîrî, Ibn al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî ibn 'Âṣim, Ishâḳ ibn Abî Isrâ'il, al-Naḍr ibn Shumail, Abû Naṣr al-Tammâr, Sa'dawaih al-Wâsiṭî, Moḥammed ibn Hâtim ibn Maimûn, Abû Ma'mar, Ibn al-Harsh, Ibn al-*Death of al-* Farrukhân, Aḥmed ibn Shujâ and Abû Hârûn ibn *Ma'mûn* al-Bakkâ. They received the news of the Khalif's *and its Con-* death when they arrived at al-Raḳḳa, and, on the *sequences.* order of 'Anbasa ibn Ishâḳ, the Wâlî of the place, were detained there until they were sent back to Baghdâd in charge of the same messenger as had brought them thence. On arriving at Baghdâd, the governor Ishâḳ ordered them to keep to their dwellings ¹⁾, but afterwards relaxed his severity toward them and allowed them to go abroad. Some of those who had been sent, however, had the temerity to leave al-Raḳḳa and come to Baghdâd without having obtained permission. As might have been expected, they suffered for their boldness when they reached the latter place, for Ishâḳ punished them. Those who thus procured trouble to themselves were Bishr ibn al-Walîd, al-Dhayyâl, Abu'l-'Awwâm and 'Alî ibn Abî Muḳâtil.

1) On 'keeping to their dwellings' cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 94.

Ahmed and Ibn Nûḥ To return to Ahmed and his companion Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ. These two were now sent back to *Ordered back* al-Raḳḳa where they, also, remained in prison until the oath of allegiance was taken to the Khalif al-Muṭaṣim. After this event, they were taken in a boat *Death of* from al-Raḳḳa to 'Ānât, at which place Moḥammed *Ibn Nûḥ* ibn Nûḥ died, and Ahmed, after performing the offices of the dead over his friend, was brought back in bonds to Baghdâd¹⁾. At first, he was imprisoned, as it appears, in the street al-Yâsiriya for some days. From there he was transferred to the Dâr al-Sharshîr near to the Dâr 'Umâra and lodged in a stable belonging to Moḥammed ibn Ibrâhîm (brother of Ishâḳ) which had been rented as a place of detention. It was very small and his stay there was short. He took sick in Ramaḍân, and was then transferred to the common prison in the Darb al-Mausiliya²⁾.

Among those who stood faithful in the inquisition during

1) See preceding note, p. 82, 1. Houtsma (De Strijd etc. 106) says that Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ, as well as Ahmed ibn Ḥanbal, was scourged by al-Muṭaṣim, but he, in fact, never appeared before that Khalif.

2) al-Subḳī, p. 139, قال صالح صار ابى الى بغداد مقيدا فمكث
 باليامرية اياما ثم حبس بدار الشرشير عند دار عمارة ثم نقل
 بعد ذلك الى حبس العامة في درب الموصلية [المفضلى Copy marg:
 واما حنبل بن اسحق فقتل حبس ابو عبد الله في
 دار عمارة ببغداد في اصطبل لمحمد بن ابراهيم اخى اسحق بن
 ابراهيم وكان في حبس ضيق ومرض في رمضان فحبس في ذلك
 الحبس قليلا ثم حوّل الى سجن العامة فمكث في السجن نحو من
 ثلاثين شهرا فكانا نائيه وقرا على كتاب الارزاء وغيره في الحبس
 فرايته يصلى باعل للبس وعليه القيد وكان يخرج رجلاه من حلقة
 القيد وقت الصلاة وانهم

Others who the Khalifate of al-Ma'mûn, but whose name has did not yet appeared, was ʿAffân ibn Muslim Abû Recant. ʿOthmân whom the Khalif and Ishâk ibn Ibrâ- ʿAffân ibn Muslim. him his lieutenant in ʿIrâq, in penalty for his refusal to obey the order to recant, deprived of the stipend which each of them granted to him. When asked what he had to say in reply to the demand made on him, he answered by reciting Sura 112, and enquiring whether that were created. His people were very angry with him for leaving them without means of support, for he had about 40 persons dependent on him. But the very day his stipend was cut off, a stranger brought to him a purse of 1000 dirhems (his stipend from al-Ma'mûn had been 500 per month), and promised him that he should receive the same amount each month from the same source. He died in Baghdâd in 220 A. H. During his life he was one of the leading men in Baghdâd and a friend of Aḥmed's who had much influence with him¹). Another to whom the Miḥna was applied in

وَأَمَّا عَفَّانُ بْنُ مُسْلِمٍ فَقَالَ حَنْبَلُ بْنُ إِسْحَاقَ كُنْتُ¹)

حاضراً عند عفان بعد أن امتحن فساله يحيى بن معين بحضور
أبي عبد الله أحمد بن حنبل ونحن معه فقال يا أبا عثمان أخبرنا بما
قال لك إسحق بن إبراهيم في الحنة وما رددت عليه فقال عفان لابن
معين يا أبا زكريا لم أسود وجهك ولا وجوه أصحابك يعني أنه لم يجب
لدى القول بخلف القرآن فقال له فكيف كان فقال دعاني إسحق
ابن إبراهيم فلما دخلت عليه قرأ الكتاب الذي كتبه المأمون من
أرض الجزيرة إلى الرقة [الرقعة Cod.] فإذا فيه امتحن عفان وأنهى إلى أن
يقول القرآن كذا وكذا فإن قال ذلك فأقره على أمره وإن لم يجبه
فاقطع عنه الذي يجري عليه وكان المأمون يجري عليه في كل شهر
خمس مائة درهم قال عفان فلما قرأ على الكتاب قال لي ما تقول فقررت
عليه قل فوالله أحد [Kor. 112] إلى آخرها وقلت امخلوني هذا

Abū Nu'aim al- this Khalifate, and who did not yield was *Faḍl ibn Dukain*. the Kūfite, Abū Nu'aim al-Faḍl ibn Dukain. When al-Ma'mūn's letter came to Kūfa he was told of its purport and exclaimed, 'It means only beating with whips'; and, then, taking hold of a button of his coat, he said, 'to me my head is of less consequence than that'. Of his trial we have no particulars, but he, at all events, does not appear to have died a violent death. He died in 219 A. H. ¹).

ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī. ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī is classed with those who surrendered their faith at the time of the Miḥna, apparently about the beginning of its course. He bitterly regretted his weakness, however, and was firmly reestablished in the orthodox faith before his death in 234 A. H. ²).

فقال لي اسحق ان امير المؤمنين امر ان لم تجبه بقطع عنك ما
يجرى عليك وان قطع عنك امير المؤمنين قطعنا عنك نحن ايضا
فقلت له قال الله تعالى وفي السماء رزقكم وما توعدون [Kor. 51. 22]
فسكت عني اسحق وانصرف فسر ابو عبد الله ويحيى ومن كان
حاضرا فلما رجع الى داره عذله اهل بيته وكان اربعين نفسا فبعد
قليل تقى عليه الباب انسان فدخل ومعه كيس فيه الف درهم فقال
يلا عثمان ثبتك الله كما ثبت الدين وهذا لك في كل شهر

وقال الامام ابو بكر بن ابي شيبة لما جاءت المحنة، 1) al-Maḥrizī, p. 13,

الى الكوفة قال لي احمد بن يونس القف ابا نعيم فقل له فلقيته فقلت
له فقال انما هو ضرب الاسياط [so Cod.] ثم اخذ زر ثيبه وقطع راسي

وهذا *Abū Nu'aim al-Faḍl ibn Dukain* was a Shyite according to *Shahrastānī*, Haarbrücker's transl'n I, 218.

وكن على المدينى ممن اجاب الى القول بخلف 2) al-Subkī, p. 185,
القران في المحنة فنقم ذلك عليه وزيد عليه في القول والصحيح
عندنا انه انما [انها Cod.] اجاب خشية السيف الخ



Ahmed in Prison. In the common prison Ahmed ibn Hanbal was confined for a considerable time, the whole period, from the time of his arrest until he was set free after being scourged by al-Muṭaṣim, being twenty-eight months. While in the prison he used to lead the prayers with the inmates, and engaged in the study of books which were provided for him by his friends. His good friend Bûrân did him the kindness to send him daily cold water, by means of a boat.

During the first part of his imprisonment, his uncle Ishâk ibn Hanbal spoke to the officials and attachés of the governor seeking to secure a release of his nephew from prison; but, failing to obtain any satisfaction, he appealed to Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm in person. With a view to securing from Ahmed a modification of his position, Ishâk then sent his chamberlain to the prison with Ahmed's uncle, ordering him to report whatever might pass between them. When they came to the prison, Ishâk ibn Hanbal urged his nephew to yield an assent to the doctrine which was being pressed upon him. He reminded him that his companions, with much less reason, had recanted and that he had justified them in doing so on the ground of the Taḥiâ. Why then should he not recant? After much fruitless disputation, they made up their minds to leave him in prison; and he went on to say that imprisonment was a matter of very little concern to him — a prison or his own house it was all the same. To be slain with the sword, too, was not a matter which caused him great anxiety; the one thing that he feared was to be scourged. If that should befall him, he could not answer for his holding out against it. One of the prisoners then reminded him that in the case of scourging he need have no fear, for after two strokes of the whip, he would never know where

وقال محمد بن عثمان بن ابي شيبة سمعت علي المديني يقول قبل
موته بشهرين القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق ومن قال مخلوق فهو كافر

any that might follow would strike him. With this assurance the remaining anxiety of Aḥmed was completely dispelled ¹⁾.

Another Citation before On the 17th of Ramaḍân, 219 A. H., that is, four-
teen months from the time that he was stopped
Ishâk ibn when on his way to al-Ma'mûn, he was brought from
Ibrâhîm. the common prison to the house of Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm ,
being bound with a single chain on his feet. While he was
confined in the house of Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm, the latter sent

قال اسحاق ابن حنبل عم الامام احمد كنت اتكلم، p. 5،
مع اصحاب السلطان والقواد في خلاص ابي عبد الله فلم يتم لي امر
فاستأذنت على اسحاق بن ابراهيم فدخلت اليه وكلمته فقال
لحاجبه اذهب معه الى ابن اخيه ولا يكلم ابن اخيه بشيء الا
اخبرتني به قال اسحاق فدخلت على ابي عبد الله ومعى حاجبه
فقلت يا ابا عبد الله قد اجاب اصحابك وقد اعذرت فيما بينك
وبين الله وبقيت انت في الحبس والضيق فقال ابو عبد الله يا عم
انا اجاب العالم تقية والجاهل بجهل متى يتبين الخلق قال فامسكت
عنه قال فذكر ابو عبد الله ما روى في التقيية من الاحاديث فقال
كيف تصنعون بحديث خباب ان من كان قبلكم ينشر احدهم
بلمنشار ثم لا يصد ذلك عن دينه قال فيمسنا منه ثم قال لست
أبالي بالحبس ما هو ومنزلي الا واحد ولا قتلاً بالسيف انما اخاف فتنة
بالسرط واخاف ان لا اصبر فسمعه بعض اهل الحبس وهو يقول ذلك
فقال لا عليك يا ابا عبد الله ما هو الا سوطان ثم لا تدري اين يقع
الباقى فلما سمع ذلك سرى عنه، قال ثم حوّل ابو عبد الله الى دار
اسحاق بن ابراهيم في شهر رمضان [لليلة] 1476، adds
سبع عشرة خلت منه [سنة تسع عشرة ومائتين

to him every day two men to reason with him; their names were, respectively, Aḥmed ibn Rabāḥ and Abū Shuaib al-Hajjām. These two men used to argue with him, and, finding him immovable, as they turned to go away each day they called for an extra chain to be placed upon his feet, until, finally, there were four chains upon them. One of the discussions which Aḥmed had was about the Knowledge of God. He asked one of the two inquisitors for his opinion on the subject, and the man said that the Knowledge of God was created. On hearing this Aḥmed called him an infidel, and, though reminded that he was casting insult upon the messenger of the Khalif, he refused to withdraw the charge. Aḥmed's reasoning was that the names of God as symbols of his attributes were in the Korān; that the Korān was part of the Knowledge of God, which is one of his attributes; that, therefore, he who pretended that the Korān was created had denied God, and, also, that he who pretended that the names of God were created had denied God. Here the argument seems to be: The names of God are not created; but the names of God form some part of the Korān; therefore, it follows that some part of the Korān, at least, is not created.

Aḥmed Or- On the fourth night after he had been removed *dered to al-* to the house of Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm, the messenger *Mu'tasim.* of the Khalif al-Mu'tasim, Bughā al-Kabir, arrived after the last prayer, bringing the command of the Khalif to Ishāk to send Aḥmed to him. When Aḥmed was brought in to Ishāk before going to al-Mu'tasim, the governor addressed him, reminding him that it was his life which was at stake, and that the Khalif had sworn that he would not kill him with the sword, but would scourge him stroke after stroke, and would throw him into a place where no light would ever reach him. Then, the governor proceeded to argue with him regarding the Korān, quoting the text, 'Verily, we have made it a Korān (reading) in the Arabic tongue', and he asked him, if there could be anything made unless it were created. Aḥmed answered with

another text. 'He made them like grass to be eaten', and asked the governor, if he would conclude from such a text anything about their being created. In this case the argument turns upon the fact that the word جَعَلَ does not, necessarily, include the meaning of خَلَقَ.

Preparations were then made for bringing Aḥmed to al-Muṭaṣim. The interest of Bughâ, the messenger of the Khalif, in his prisoner and his cause was no very intelligent interest. He inquired of Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm's messenger what Aḥmed was wanted for, and, on learning, he declared that he knew nothing about such things; that the limits of his faith as a Muslim did not extend beyond the declaration that 'there is no God but Allah, that Moḥammed is the Apostle of God, and that the Commander of the Faithful is of the relationship of the Prophet of God'. At the gate of the royal park they disembarked after a short trip on the Tigris. Aḥmed was taken out of the boat and put upon a beast, from which he was in danger of falling off, owing to his helplessness because of the weight of his chains. He was brought under these circumstances into the palace precincts ¹⁾ and made to alight at a house in a room of which he was confined, without any lamp to enable him to see at night ²⁾. During the night

1) al-Muṭaṣim's palace was in the eastern part of Baghdâd (vid. Ja'qûbî, Bibl. Geogr. VII, 100, 17). The general prison, if in the Darb al-Mufaḍḍal (but v. p. 85, note 2), was in the same quarter and Ishâk the governor's residence may not have been at any great distance from this general prison. In any case it is clear that the trial and scourging took place in Baghdâd, where Aḥmed was well-known and had many admirers. Hence the popular demonstration against the Khalif when Aḥmed was flogged.

2) Abû Nu'aim, 1476 f. أحمد بن جعفر وعلى بن أحمد حدثنا محمد بن محمد قالوا ثنا محمد بن اسماعيل ثنا ابو الفضل صالح ابن احمد بن حنبل قل قل ابي رحمه الله لما كان في شهر رمضان ليلة سبع عشرة خلت منه حُوت من السجن الى دار اسحاقي

he is said to have had a vision of 'Alī ibn 'Āsim, and in-

ابن ابراهيم وانا مقيد بقيد واحد يُوجّه الى كل يوم رجلا
 سماهما ابي قال ابو الفضل وهما احمد بن رباح وابو شُعَيْبٍ للحجاج
 [الحاجم al-Makrizi, للحاج Cod.] يكلماني ويناطراني فلما اراد
 الانصراف نُصي بَقِيد فقيدت به فمكثت على هذه الحالة ثلاثة ايام
 وصار في رجلي اربعة اقياد فقال لي [فقال Cod.] احدهما في بعض
 الايام في كلام دَارَ وَسَأَلْتُهُ عَنْ عِلْمِ اللَّهِ فَقَالَ عِلْمُ اللَّهِ مَخْلُوقٌ فَقُلْتُ
 لَهُ يَا كَافِرُ كَفَرْتَ فَقَالَ لِي الرَّسُولُ الَّذِي كَانَ يَحْضُرُ مَعَهُ مِنْ قَبْلِ
 أَبِي اسْحَاقَ هَذَا رَسُولُ امِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ إِنَّ هَذَا قَدْ
 كَفَرَ وَكَانَ صَاحِبُهُ الَّذِي يَجْبِي مَعَهُ خَارِجًا فَلَمَّا دَخَلَ قُلْتُ لَهُ إِنَّ
 هَذَا زَعَمَ أَنَّ عِلْمَ اللَّهِ مَخْلُوقٌ فَنَظَرُ إِلَيْهِ كَالْمُنْكَرِ عَلَيْهِ مَا قَالَ ثُمَّ
 انْصَرَفَا قَالَ أَبِي وَاسْمَاءُ اللَّهِ فِي الْقُرْآنِ وَالْقُرْآنُ مِنْ عِلْمِ اللَّهِ فَمَنْ زَعَمَ
 أَنَّ الْقُرْآنَ مَخْلُوقٌ فَهُوَ كَافِرٌ وَمَنْ زَعَمَ أَنَّ أَسْمَاءَ اللَّهِ مَخْلُوقَةٌ فَقَدْ كَفَرَ
 قَالَ ابْنُ رَجْمَةَ اللَّهِ فَلَمَّا كَانَتِ اللَّيْلَةُ [الليلة Cod.] الرَّابِعَةُ * بَعْدَ الْعِشَاءِ
 الْآخِرَةِ وَجَدَ الْمُعْتَمِدَ يَبْغَا إِلَى اسْحَاقَ بْنِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بِأَمْرِهِ بِخِمْلِي فَأَدْخَلْتِ
 عَلَيَّ اسْحَاقَ فَقَالَ لِي يَا أَحْمَدُ أَتُنَافِئُهَا وَإِنَّهُ نَفْسُكَ إِنَّهُ قَدْ حَلَفَ
 أَنَّ لَا يَقْتُلُكَ بِالسَّيْفِ وَأَنْ يَضْرِبَكَ ضَرْبًا بَعْدَ ضَرْبٍ وَأَنْ يُلْقِيَكَ فِي
 مَوْضِعٍ لَا تَرَى فِيهِ الشَّمْسَ الْيَسَّ قَدْ قَالَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى أَنَا جَعَلْنَاهُ قُرْآنًا
 قَرِيبًا [Kor. 43. 2] أَفَيَكُونُ مَجْعُولٌ إِلَّا وَهُوَ مَخْلُوقٌ قَالَ ابْنُ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ قَدْ
 قَالَ اللَّهُ فَجَعَلَهُمْ كَعَصْفٍ مَأْكُولٍ [Kor. 105. 5] أَفَخُلِقُوا فَقُلْتُ انْهَبُوا
 بِهِ قَالَ ابْنُ رَجْمَةَ اللَّهِ فَانْزَلْتُ إِلَى شَاطِئِ دَجَلَةٍ وَأُحْدَرْتُ إِلَى الْمَوْضِعِ
 الْمَعْرُوفِ بِبَابِ الْبِسْتَانِ وَمَعِيَ بَغَا الْكَبِيرُ وَرَسُولٌ مِنْ قَبْلِ اسْحَاقَ قَالَ
 فَقَالَ بَغَا لِمُحَمَّدٍ الْمُحَارَبِيُّ بِفَارَسِيَّةٍ مَا تُرِيدُونَ مِنْ هَذَا الرَّجُلِ قَالَ

when al-Mu'tasim first saw Aḥmed, he said to those about

تَكَلَّمْتُ إِلَى مَا دَعَا إِلَيْهِ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ إِلَى
شَهَادَةِ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ أَنَا أَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ ثُمَّ
قُلْتُ لَهُ أَنْ جَدَّكَ ابْنُ عَبَّاسٍ يَحْكِي أَنَّ وَقَدْ عَبْدَ الْقَيْسَ لَمَّا قَدِمُوا
عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَرَهُمُ بِالْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ فَقَالَ اتَّبِعُونِ
مَا الْإِيمَانُ بِاللَّهِ قَالُوا اللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُ أَعْلَمُ قَالَ شَهَادَةُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ
مُحَمَّدًا رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَاقْرَأُوا الصَّلَاةَ وَآتُوا الزَّكَاةَ وَصُومُوا رَمَضَانَ وَإِنْ تَعَطَّوْا
الْخُمْسَ مِنَ الْمَغْنَمِ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ حَدَّثَنَا إِي قُنَا يَحْيَى بْنُ سَعِيدٍ
عَنْ شُعْبَةَ قَالَ حَدَّثَنِي أَبُو جَمْرَةَ قَالَ سَمِعْتُ ابْنَ عَبَّاسٍ قَالَ أَنَّ وَقَدْ
عَبَدَ الْقَيْسَ لَمَّا قَدِمُوا عَلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَرَهُمُ
بِالْإِيمَانِ بِاللَّهِ فَذَكَرَ الْحَدِيثَ قَالَ أَبُو الْفَضْلِ قَالَ إِي فَقَالَ لِي عِنْدَ ذَلِكَ
لَوْلَا إِي وَجَدْتُكَ فِي يَدٍ مِنْ كَانَ قَبْلِي مَا تَقَرَّضْتُ لَكَ ثَرًا التَفْتُ إِلَى
عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنِ إِسْحَاقَ فَقَالَ لَهُ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ أَلَمْ أَمُرْكَ أَنْ تَرْفَعَ
لِحْنَتَكَ قَالَ إِي فَقُلْتُ فِي نَفْسِي اللَّهُ أَكْبَرُ أَنَّ فِي هَذَا لِفَرْجًا لِلْمُسْلِمِينَ
قَالَ ثَرًا قَالَ نَاطِرُوهُ وَكَلِمَتُهُ ثَرًا قَالَ يَا عَبْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ كَلِمَةٌ فَقَالَ لِي عَبْدُ
الرَّحْمَنِ مَا تَقُولُ فِي الْقُرْآنِ قَالَ قُلْتُ لَهُ مَا تَقُولُ فِي عِلْمِ اللَّهِ فَسَكَتَ
قَالَ إِي فَجَعَلَ يُكَلِّمُنِي هَذَا وَهَذَا فَارْتَدُّ عَلَى هَذَا وَاقْلَمْ هَذَا ثَرًا أَقُولُ
يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَعْطَانِي شَيْعًا مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى
اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَقُولُ بِهِ مَا [Cod. omits] أَرَاهُ قَالَ فَيَقُولُ ابْنُ إِي دَوَادُ
أَنْتَ لَا تَقُولُ إِلَّا مَا فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ
وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ تَأَوَّلْتُ تَأَوَّلًا فَانْتِ اعْلَمْ وَمَا تَأَوَّلْتُ مَا يَحْبَسُ
عَلَيْهِ وَيُقَيِّدُ عَلَيْهِ قَالَ فَقَالَ ابْنُ إِي دَوَادُ هُوَ وَاللَّهُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
صَلِّ مُصَلِّ مُبْتَدِعٌ * وَهَلَاءَ قُضَاتُكَ وَالْفُقَهَاءُ فَسَلِّمْ فَيَقُولُ لَهُمْ مَا تَقُولُونَ

him reproachfully, 'Did you not pretend that this was a

فيقولون يا امير المؤمنين هو ضال مضل مبتدع قل ولا يزالون يكلموني
 قل وجعل صوتي يعملو على اصواتهم وقل لي انسان منهم قل الله
 مَا يَأْتِيهِمْ مِنْ ذِكْرِ مِنْ رَبِّهِمْ مُخَدَّت [Korān 21. 2] افيكون محدث الا
 مخلوق قل فقلت له قل الله تعالى ص وَالْقُرْآنِ ذِي الذِّكْرِ [Korān 38. 1]
 فلذكر هو القرآن وتلك ليس فيها الف ولا لام قل فجعل ابن سماعة ✓
 لا يفهم ما اقول قل فجعل يقول لهم ما يقول قل فقالوا له انه يقول كذا
 وكذا قل فقال لي انسان منهم حديث خباب يا هناه تقرب الى الله
 بما استطعت فانك لن تتقرب اليه بشيء هو احب اليه من كلامه
 قل ابي فقلت له نعم هكذا هو قل فجعل ابن ابي دوان ينظر اليه
 ويلحظ متغيظا عليه قل ابي وقل بعضهم اليس قل الله خالق كل
 شيء قل قلت قد قل تَتَمَرُّ كُلُّ شَيْءٍ [Korān 46. 24] فتممرت الا ما
 اراد الله قل فقل بعضهم فما تقول وذكر حديث عمران بن حصين
 ان الله تعالى كتب الذكر فقال ان الله خلق الذكر فقلت هذا
 خطأ حدثناه غير واحد ان الله كتب الذكر قل ابي فكان اذا
 انقطع الرجل منهم اعترض ابن ابي دوان فتكلم فلما قارب الزوال قل
 لهم قوموا ثم احتبس عبد الرحمن بن اسحاق فتخلأ في وبعد
 الرحمن فجعل يقول لي اما تعرف صالحا الرشيدى كان مودعي وكان
 في هذا الموضع جالسا و اشار الى ناحية من الدار قل فتكلم وذكر
 القرآن فخالفتي فامرته به فسحب ووطى ثم جعل يقول ما اعرفك
 الم تكن تأتينا فقال له عبد الرحمن يا امير المؤمنين اعرفه منذ
 ثلاثين سنة يرى طاعتك و الحجج و الجهاد معك وهو ملازم لمنزله قل
 فجعل يقول والله انه لفيقه وانه لعالم وما يسرني ان يكون مثله معي

يرد على اهل الملل ولئن اجابني الى شيء له فيه اننى فرج لاطلقن عنه بيدي ولاطان عقبه ولاركبت اليه بجندى قل ثم يلتفت الى فيقول ويحك يا احمد ما تقول قل فاقول يا امير المؤمنين اعطوني شيئا من كتاب الله او سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فلما طال بنا المجلس صاحجر فقام فرددت الى الموضع الذى كنت فيه ثم وجه الى برجلين سماهما وهما صاحب الشافعى وقسّان من اصحاب ابن ابي دؤاد يُناظرانى فيقيمان معى حتى انا حضر الافطار وجه الينا بمائدة عليها طعام فجعلا ياكلان وجعلت اتعلل حتى ترفع المائدة و اكما الى غد فى خلال ذلك يجىء ابن ابي دؤاد فيقول لى يا احمد يقول لك امير المؤمنين ما تقول فاقول له اعطوني شيئا من كتاب الله او سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم حتى اقول به فقال لى ابن ابي دؤاد والله لقد كتب اسمك فى السبعة فمحوته ولقد ساعى اخذكم اياك وانه والله ليس السيف انه ضرب بعد ضرب ثم يقول لى ما تقول فارؤ عليه نحو ما رددت عليه ثم ياتينى رسوله فيقول ابن احمد بن عمار اجب للرجل [الرجل Cod.] الذى انزلت* فى حُجْرته فيذهب ثم يعود فيقول لى يقول لك امير المؤمنين ما تقول فارؤ عليه نحو ما رددت على ابن ابي دؤاد فلا تزال رسله تاتى احمد بن عمار وهو يختلف فيما بينى وبينه ويقول يقول لك امير المؤمنين اجبنى حتى اجدى فاطلق عنك بيدي قل فلما كان فى اليوم الثانى ادخلت عليه فقال ناظروه وكلموه قل فجعلا يتكلمون هذا من هاهنا* وهذا من هاهنا فارؤ على هذا وهذا فلما جاءوا بشيء من الكلام مما ليس فى كتاب الله ولا سنة رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ولا فيه خبر ولا اثر قلت ما ابرى ما هذا قل

*) Cod. انزلت, but if we read للرجل the correction is obviously necessary; i. e. 'pointing to the man in whose dwelling I had been lodged'.

فيقولون يا امير المؤمنين اذا توجهت له لاجة علينا وثب واذا
 كلمناه بشيء يقول لا أدري ما هذا قل فيقول ناظروه ثم يقول يا احمد
 اني عليك شفيق فقال رجل منهم اراك تذكر الحديث وتنحله
 [تسجله Cod.] قل فقلت له فما تقول في قول الله تعالى يُوصِيكُمُ اللَّهُ
 فِي أَوْلَادِكُمْ لِلذَّكَرِ مِثْلُ خِطِّ الْأُنثَيَيْنِ [Kor. 4. 12] فقال خص الله
 بها المؤمنين قل فقلت له ما تقول ان كان قاتلا او عبدا او يهوديا
 او نصرانيا فسكت قل اني فلانما احتاجت عليهم بهذا لانهم كانوا
 يجتاجون على بظاهر القرآن ولقوله اراك تنتحل الحديث وكان اذا
 انقطع الرجل اعترض ابن ابي دودا فيقول والله يا امير المؤمنين لئن
 اجابك لهو احب الي من مائة الف دينار ومائة الف دينار فيعبد
 ما شاء الله اليه من ذلك ثم امرهم بعد ذلك بالقيام وخلا في ويعبد
 الرحمن فيدور بيننا [فيينا Cod.] كلام كثير وفي خلال ذلك يقول
 تدعوا احمد بن ابي دودا تقول ذلك اليك فيوجه فيجي فيتكلم فلما
 طال بنا المجلس ثم وريدت الى الموضع الذي كنت فيه وجاءني
 الرجلان اللذان كنا عندي بالأمس فجلا يتكلمان فدار بيننا كلام
 كثير فلما كان وقت الافطار جيء بظعام على نحو مما اتي به في اول
 الليلة فافطروا وتعللت وجعلت رسله تاتي احمد بن عمار فيمضي اليه
 فيأنيبي [يأنيبي Cod.] برسالة على نحو مما كان في اول ليلة فجاء
 ابن ابي دودا فقال له انه قد حلف ان يضربك ضربا بعد ضرب وان
 يحبسك في موضع لا ترى فيها الشمس فقلت له فما اصنع حتى
 اذا كنت ان اصبغ قلت لخليق ان يحدث في هذا اليوم من
 امري شيء وقد كنت اخرجت تكتي من سراويلي فشددت بها
 الاقياد اجملا بها اذا توجهت اليه فقلت لبعض من كان معي

الموكل بي أريد لي حَيْطاً فُجَّأَتْنِي بِحَيْطٍ فَشَدَدْتُ بِهَا الْإِكْيَادَ وَاعْدَتُ
 التَّنَكُّةَ فِي سِرَاوِيلِي وَلَبَسْتُهَا كَرَاهِيَةً أَنْ يَحْدُثَ شَيْءٌ مِنْ أَمْرِي فَاتَّعَرَى
 فَلَمَّا كَانَ فِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّلَاثِ أُدْخِلْتُ عَلَيْهِ وَالْقَوْمُ حَضَرُوا فَجَعَلْتُ أُدْخِلُ
 مِنْ دَارٍ إِلَى دَارٍ وَقَوْمٌ مَعَهُ السَّيْفُ وَقِيمٌ مَعَهُ السَّيَاطُ وَغَيْرُ ذَلِكَ مِنْ
 السِّبْيِ وَالسَّلَاحِ وَقَدْ خُشِّيتِ الدَّارَ بِالْجُنْدِ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ فِي الْيَوْمَيْنِ
 الْمَاضِيَيْنِ كَبِيرٌ أَحَدٌ مِنْ هَؤُلَاءِ حَتَّى إِذَا صَبَرْتُ إِلَيْهِ قَالَ لَظَرُوهُ وَكَلِمُوهُ
 فَعَدُوا بِمِثْلِ مَنَاطِرَتِهِمْ فِدَارٍ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَهُمْ كَلَامٌ كَثِيرٌ حَتَّى إِذَا
 كَانَ فِي الْوَقْتِ الَّذِي كَانَ يَخْلُو بِي فِيهِ نَحْنُاجِي ثُمَّ اجْتَمَعُوا
 وَشَاوَرُوا ثُمَّ نَحْنُاجِي وَدَعَانِي فُخْلًا فِي وَبَعْدَ الرَّحْمَنِ فَقَالَ لِي وَجْهَكَ يَا
 أَحْمَدُ أَنَا وَاللَّهِ عَلَيْكَ شَغِيفٌ وَأَنِّي لِأُشْفِقَ عَلَيْكَ مِثْلَ شَفَقَتِي عَلَى
 هَرُونَ ابْنِي فَاجْبَنِي فَقُلْتُ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اعْطُونِي شَيْئًا مِنْ كِتَابِ اللَّهِ
 أَوْ سُنَّةِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَلَمَّا ضَاجَرَ وَطَالَ الْمَجْلِسُ قَالَ
 عَلَيْكَ لَعْنَةُ اللَّهِ لَقَدْ كُنْتُ طَمِعْتُ فِيكَ خُذُوهُ خَلَعُوهُ ثِيَابَهُ اسْحَبُوهُ
 قَالَ فَاخْذْتُ فَسَحَبْتُ ثُمَّ خَلَعْتُ ثُمَّ قَالَ الْعُقَايِينِ [كُلُّ لِي انْعِقَارِيَيْنِ Cod.]
 وَالسَّيَاطُ فَجِيءَ بِعُقَايِينِ [؟ بِالْعُقَايِينِ read] وَالسَّيَاطُ فَقَالَ لِي وَقَدْ كَانَ
 صَارَ إِلَيَّ شَعْرَتَانِ مِنْ شَعْرِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَصَبَرْتُهُمَا فِي
 كَمِّ قَمِيصِي فَنَظَرَ اسْحَاكُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ إِلَى الصُّرَّةِ فِي كَمِّ قَمِيصِي فَوَجَّهَ
 إِلَيَّ مَا هَذَا مَصْرُورٌ فِي كَمِّ قَمِيصِكَ [كَمْكَ Margin, variant] فَقُلْتُ شَعْرٌ مِنْ
 شَعْرِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ وَسَعَى بَعْضُ الْقَوْمِ إِلَى الْقَمِيصِ لِيُخْرِقَهُ
 فِي وَقْتُ مَا أَقَمْتُ بَيْنَ الْعُقَايِينِ فَقَالَ لَهُمْ لَا تَخْرِقُوهُ انْزِعُوهُ عَنْهُ قَالَ لِي
 فَطَنَنْتُ أَنَّهُ دَرَى مِنَ الْقَمِيصِ الْخَرَقَ لِسَبَبِ الشَّعْرِ الَّذِي كَانَ فِيهِ
 ثُمَّ صَبَرْتُ بَيْنَ الْعُقَايِينِ وَشَدَدْتُ يَدِي وَجِيءَ بِكُرْسِيٍّ فَرُضِعَ لَهُ وَابْنُ
 أَبِي دُوَادٍ قَامَ عَلَى رَأْسِهِ وَالنَّاسُ أَجْمَعُونَ قِيَامٌ مِمَّنْ حَضَرَ فَقَالَ لِي

انسان مِّن شَدْنِي خُذْ نَابِي الْخَشْبَتَيْنِ بِيَدِكَ وَشُدَّ عَلَيْهِمَا فَلَمْ
 اِفْعَمْ مَا قُلْتُ قُلْتُ فَتَخَلَّعْتُ يَدِي لَمَّا شُدَّتْ وَلَمْ اَمْسِكْ الْخَشْبَتَيْنِ قُلْتُ
 اَبُو الْفَضْلِ وَلَمْ يَزَلْ اَبِي رَجَمَهُ اللهُ يَتَوَجَّعُ مِنْهُمَا مِنَ الرَّسْغِ اِلَى اَنْ
 تَوَفَّى ثُمَّ قُلْتُ لِلْجَلَّادِيْنَ تَقَدَّمُوا فَنظَرُوا اِلَى السِّبَاطِ فَقَالَ اَتَتْوَا بَغِيْرَهَا
 ثُمَّ قُلْتُ تَقَدَّمُوا فَقَالَ لَاحِدُهُمْ اِنَّهُ اَوْجَعُ قَطَعَ اللهُ يَدَكَ فَتَقَدَّمْتُ فَضْرَبْتُ
 سَوَاطِيْنِ ثُمَّ تَنَحَّيْتُ ثُمَّ قُلْتُ اَدْنُهُ شَدَّ قَطَعَ اللهُ يَدَكَ فَتَقَدَّمْتُ فَضْرَبْتُ
 سَوَاطِيْنِ ثُمَّ تَنَحَّيْتُ فَلَمْ يَزَلْ يَدْعُوْا وَاحِدًا بَعْدَ وَاحِدٍ فَيَضْرِبُنِي سَوَاطِيْنِ
 ثُمَّ يَتَنَحَّيْتُ ثُمَّ قَامَ حَتَّى جَاءَنِيْ وَهُمْ مُّحْدِقُوْنَ بِهِ فَقَالَ وَيْحَكَ يَا اَهْمَدُ
 تَقْتُلُ نَفْسَكَ وَيَحْكُمُ اجْبَنِيْ اَطْلُقْ عَنْكَ بِيَدِيْ قُلْتُ فَجَعَلَ بَعْضُهُمْ
 يَقُوْلُ لِيْ وَيْحَكَ اِمَامُكَ عَلَى رَاسِكَ قَاتِمٌ قُلْتُ وَجَعَلَ عَاجِيْفٌ يَنْخُسُنِيْ
 بِقَاتِمٍ سَيِّفُهُ وَيَقُوْلُ تُرِيدُ اَنْ تَغْلِبَ هَؤُلَاءَ كُلَّهُمْ قُلْتُ وَجَعَلَ اسْحَاقُ بْنُ
 اِبْرَهِيْمَ يَقُوْلُ وَيْلَكَ الْخُلَيْفَةُ عَلَى رَاسِكَ قَاتِمٌ ثُمَّ يَقُوْلُ بَعْضُهُمْ يَا اَمِيْرَ
 الْمُؤْمِنِيْنَ تَمَّ فِيْ عُنُقِيْ كُلُّ ثُمَّ رَجَعَ فَجَلَسَ عَلَى الْكُرْسِيِّ ثُمَّ قُلْتُ لِلْجَلَّادِ
 اَدْنُهُ شَدَّ قَطَعَ اللهُ يَدَكَ ثُمَّ لَمْ يَزَلْ يَدْعُوْا جَلَّادًا [جلاد Cod.] بَعْدَ
 جَلَادٍ فَيَضْرِبُنِيْ سَوَاطِيْنِ وَيَتَنَحَّيْتُ وَهُوَ يَقُوْلُ لَهُ شُدَّ قَطَعَ اللهُ يَدَكَ ثُمَّ
 قَامَ اِلَيَّ الثَّانِيَةَ فَجَعَلَ يَقُوْلُ يَا اَهْمَدُ اجْبَنِيْ فَجَعَلَ عَبْدُ الرَّحْمَنِ بْنُ
 اسْحَاقَ يَقُوْلُ لِيْ مَنْ صَنَعَ بِنَفْسِهِ مِنْ اَحْكَابِكَ فِيْ هَذَا الْاَمْرِ مَا صَنَعْتَ
 هَذَا يَحْيَى بْنُ مَعِيْنٍ وَهَذَا اَبُو خَيْثَمَةَ وَابْنُ اَبِي اسْرَاطِيْلَ وَجَعَلَ
 يُعِدُّ عَلَيَّ مِنْ اَجَابٍ وَجَعَلَ هُوَ يَقُوْلُ وَيْحَكَ اجْبَنِيْ قُلْتُ فَجَعَلْتُ اَقُوْلُ
 اَتَحْوَا مَا كُنْتُ اَقُوْلُهُ لَمْ قُلْتُ فَرَجَعَ فَجَلَسَ ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَقُوْلُ لِلْجَلَّادِ شُدَّ
 قَطَعَ اللهُ يَدَكَ قُلْتُ اِنِّيْ فُذْهَبَ عَقْلِيْ وَمَا عَقَلْتُ اِلَّا وَاَنَا فِيْ حُجْرَةٍ
 مُّطْلَقٌ عَنِ الْاِثْيَادِ فَقَالَ اِنْسَانٌ مِّنْ حَضَرِ اَنَا كُبَيْبُنَاكَ عَلَى وَجْهِكَ
 وَطَرَحْنَا عَلَى ظَهْرِكَ بَارِيَّةً وَنُسْنَاكَ قُلْتُ اَبِي فَقُلْتُ مَا شَعَرْتُ بِذَلِكَ

قال فجاءوني بسويق فقالوا لي اشرب وتقياً فقلت لا افطر ثم جى بى الى دار اسحاق بن ابراهيم قال ابى فنردى بصلاة الظهر فصلينا الظهر فقال ابن سماعة صليت والدم يسيل من ضربك فقلت قد صلى عمر رضى الله عنه وجرحه يثعب دما فسكت ثم خلى عنه فصار الى المنزل [Cod. omits] ووجه الى رجل من الساجن من يبصر الضرب والجراحات ويعالج منها فنظر اليه فقال أنا والله لقد رايت من ضرب الف سوط ما رايت ضرباً اشد من هذا لقد جر عليه من خلفه ومن قدماه ثم ادخل ميلاً في بعض تلك الجراحات وقال لا ينقب فجعل ياتيه ويعالجه وقد كان احكمت [cf. Tāj al-ʿArās] وجهه غير ضربة ثم يمكث يعالجه ما شاء الله ثم قال له ان هاهنا شيئاً اريد ان اقطعه فجاء بحديدة فجعل يعلق اللحم بها ويقطعه بسكين معه وهو صابر بذلك يحمد الله في ذلك فبراً منه ولم يزل يتوجع من مواضع منه وكان اثر الضرب بيناً في ظهره الى ان توفي رحمه الله، قال ابو الفضل سمعت ابى يقول والله لقد اعطيت المجهون من نفسى ولوددت الى اخو من هذا الامر كفاً لا على ولا لي قال ابو الفضل واخبرنى احد الرجلين اللذين كلاهما معه وقد كان هذا الرجل يعنى صاحب الشافعى صاحب حديث قد سمع ونظر ثم جاتى بعد فقال يابن اخى رحمة الله على ابى عبد الله ما رايت احداً يعينى يشبهه لقد جعلت اقرب له في الوقت ما يوجه الينا بالطعام يلبا عبد الله انت صائم وانت في موضع تقية* ولقد عطش فقال لصاحب الشراب ناولنى فناوله قدحاً فيه ماء وثليم فاخذته فنظر اليه هنيهة ثم رثه عليه قال فجعلت اعجب اليه من صبره على الجوع والعطش وما هو فيه من الهزل قال ابو الفضل وكنت التمس واحتال ان اوصل اليه طعاماً او

young man, but this man is not young' [his age was 54] ¹⁾. The Khalif, on his entering, commanded him to draw near and bade him sit down. Then Aḥmed asked permission to speak, and, having received it, put the question, 'To what did the Messenger of God give invitation?' The Khalif said, "To the testimony 'that there is no God but Allah'." Aḥmed replied, 'I testify that there is no God but Allah'; and, after he had professed his adherence to the five cardinal points of Islām, the Khalif told him that if he had not been apprehended by his predecessor in the Khalifate he would not have taken any action against him. Then, turning to Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāk, al-Mu'tasim asked him if he had not given him command to abolish the Miḥna. On hearing this, Aḥmed was overjoyed, supposing that it was really the Khalif's intention to deliver his subjects from the objectionable test. Following this, there was disputation, in which the Khalif ordered Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāk to take a part. This man then put the question to Aḥmed, 'What dost thou say about the Korān?' Aḥmed returned him no direct answer, but, in turn, asked him 'what he had to say about the Knowledge of God'. To this Abd al-Raḥmān made no reply. During the Miḥna this question was, with Aḥmed, a favorite device in argument and one by means of which he generally put his opponents in embarrassment. The force of the argument lies in the fact that the Korān is declared to be knowledge from God, and Aḥmed and such as he regarded this as equivalent to its being inseparable from the Knowledge of

رغيفاً او رغيفين في هذه الايام فلم اقدر على ذلك واخبرني رجل
حصره قل تفقدته في هذه الايام ولم ينظرونه ويكلمونه فما لحن في
كلمة وما ظننت ان احداً يكون مثل شجاعته وشدة قلبه قدس
الله روحه

فلما نظر الى المعتصم سمعته يقول لم كالمكر عليهم 1) al-Maḥrizi, p. 5.
اليس قد رحمت انه حدث السن هذا شيخ مكتهل

God. 'If this Knowledge', say they, 'be uncreated then the Korân must be uncreated'. Another point which Abd al-Rahmân urged was that 'God existed when a Korân did not exist'; to this Ahmed replied with the same argument, 'Did God exist and not his Knowledge?'¹⁾.

During the passage between Abd al-Rahmân ibn Ishâk and Ahmed, the latter asked Abd al-Rahmân what his master al-Shâfi'î had taught him about the ritual washing of the feet, and Ibn Abî Dowâd, in great astonishment, exclaimed, 'Behold a man who is face to face with death indulging in questions over Fikḥ!'²⁾.

One of those in the room recited a tradition of Imrân ibn Huṣain that God created الذكر and الذكر is the Korân; to this Ahmed answered that he had the tradition from more than one authority in the form, 'God wrote الذكر'. The bearing of this tradition as corrected by Ahmed is to the effect that the substance and words of the Korân were not created but that the earthly record was. Another tradition which was adduced was that of Ibn Mas'ûd, 'God did not create in paradise, hell, heaven and earth anything greater than the Throne verse' (Korân 2. 256). Ahmed's rejoinder was that the creation applied only to paradise, heaven, hell and earth, but

1) al-Maḥrizî, p. 6, قال في عبد الرحمن كان الله ولا قرآن فقلت له أكان الله ولا علم فأمسك ونو زعم أن الله كان ولا علم كفر

2) Abû Nu'aim, 1446, الخليفة الحسن بن أحمد بن حنبل على الشافعي فجلس بين يدي الخليفة وكانوا هزلوا عليه وقد كانوا ضربوا عنق رجلين فنظر أحمد إلى أبي عبد الرحمن الشافعي فقال أي شيء تحفظ عن الشافعي في المسح فقال ابن أبي دؤاد انظروا رجلا هوذا يقدم لضرب العنق ينأظر في الفقه،

did not apply to the Ḳorân — a construction which is admissible¹⁾.

Someone introduced the verse, 'What came to them of ذِكر from their Lord was a thing newly produced', and asked, 'Can anything be newly produced unless it be created?' Aḥmed said the Ḳorân, Sura 38, declares, 'By the Ḳorân, the possessor of الذِكر'; so الذِكر is the Ḳorân but there is in that other (ذِكر) no article. Here the argument is to shew that الذِكر and the Ḳorân are identical in meaning, but ذِكر without the article is not identical with the Ḳorân. Consequently, no argument can be based upon the declaration that ذِكر was newly produced.

The words were cited, 'He is the creator of everything'. Against this Aḥmed quoted, 'Thou dost destroy everything'; and he added, 'Dost thou destroy except what God wills?' The argument is that the term 'everything' must be understood in harmony with declarations as to the unoriginate character of the Ḳorân found elsewhere within the Book itself.

It is said that, in the course of the discussion, Ibn Abi Dowâd lost his patience because Aḥmed insisted on keeping to the Ḳorân and the Tradition. Aḥmed's defence was to the effect that his course was justifiable, for Ibn Abi Dowâd was putting a construction upon the Ḳorân with which sincere minds could not agree, and, failing to agree, the men were being cast into prison and loaded with chains. With this Ibn Abi Dowâd called upon the Khalif to ask his kâdis and faḳihs if Aḥmed were not a man misled, misleading

1) al-Maḳrîzî, p. 6, حديث ابن مسعود وما خلف الله واحتجوا على بحديث ابن مسعود وما خلف الله
من الجنة ولا نار ولا سماء ولا ارض اعظم من اية الكرسي [Kor. 2. 256]
قال ابو عبد الله فقلت انما وقع الخلق على الجنة والنار والسماء والارض
ولم يقع على القرآن

and heretical. On his enquiring of them they declared he was such. On this occasion Aḥmed repeatedly protested to the Khalif that his opponents were not adhering to the authorities which alone could settle such disputes¹⁾. Indeed, Aḥmed seems to have been the most vehement of all the disputants. Ibn Abi Dowād shewed his zealot spirit, likewise, by frequently interjecting his opinion. On the first occasion of his interference, Aḥmed did not answer him, and, when al-Muṭaṣim rebuked him for it, he replied that he was not aware that Ibn Abi Dowād was a man of learning²⁾.

When it came to the time of closing the Khalif bade all present arise; and after the session was ended, the Khalif and Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ishāq had a private conference with Aḥmed, in which al-Muṭaṣim mentioned to him the punishment he had visited upon his own private tutor (Sālih al-Rashidi) for opposing him in regard to the Korān. He complained, too, that Aḥmed had not given him any chance to learn his views or their vindication. Abd al-Raḥmān, however, explained that he had known Aḥmed for thirty years as a pious Muslim who observed the Hajj and the Jihād and was a loyal subject of the Khalif. In view of what Abd al-Raḥmān said, and of what he himself had heard of Aḥmed's answers, al-Muṭaṣim then exclaimed, 'Surely, this man is a faḳīh! surely, he is a man of learning [ʿālim]! and I would that I had men such as he with me to take part in managing my affairs, and to effectually answer the advocates of other religions'. He, further, professed himself ready to suspend at once all action against Aḥmed, and to support him with all his power, if he would but give him the very slightest

1) cf. Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 152.

2) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 6, قال ابو عبد الله كان القيم اذا انقلعوا عن الحاجة
عرض ابن ابي دؤاد فتكلم وكلمني مرة فلم التفت اليه فقال لي
المعتصم الا تكلمه فقلت لست اعرفه من اهل العلم فاكلمه قال ابو عبد
الله وكان ابن ابي دؤاد من اجهل بالعلم والكلام

admission as a ground for doing so. To this Aḥmed made answer in harmony with what he had said before, asking for some justifying passage from the *Ḳorân* or from the Tradition of the Prophet.

This closed the first day's proceedings, and Aḥmed was sent back to his place of confinement, where two men, one a follower of al-Shâfi'i and a certain Ghassân, of the following of Ibn Abi Dowâd, visited him and engaged in conversation and disputation with him until the next morning. In the meanwhile, the evening meal was brought in and the two visitors partook; but Aḥmed, though strongly pressed and though suffering from hunger, would not touch anything. Before the audience of the next day Ibn Abi Dowâd himself brought a message from the Khalif enquiring as to whether Aḥmed had changed his mind or not. Ibn Abi Dowâd, also, expressed his personal sorrow at his arrest, especially in view of the Khalif's resolution not to execute him with the sword, in case he should refuse to recant, but to scourge him stroke after stroke until he should be brought to a change of mind or should die under the lash. He assured Aḥmed that the Khalif al-Ma'mûn had written his name among the first seven who were summoned, but that he had been instrumental in securing its erasure¹). To all these persuasions Aḥmed replied with the same plea for some satisfactory ground from either the *Ḳorân* or the Tradition on which to base a change of faith. The man in whose house he was detained, Aḥmed ibn 'Ammâr, was, also, sent to him repeatedly with messages from the Khalif, but all in vain.

Second Day. On the second day, the proceedings were much the same as those of the previous audience. Whenever they used the *Ḳorân* or a tradition of recognized authority Aḥmed shewed himself ready to meet them, and appears to have been fully able to hold his own. When, however, they adopted any other method of argument, he refused absolutely to recognize the validity of their proofs, and maintained a

1) cf. p. 64.

stubborn silence. He carried this practice out so thoroughly that his opponents complained to the Khalif that, whenever the argument was in his favor he had his answer ready, but, on the contrary, whenever it went in their favor he simply challenged the testimonies which they adduced. It seems to have troubled him that they should have insisted, as they sometimes did, on the letter of the *Ḳorân*; and, to shew them that they ought not to be too slavish in their adherence to the *Ḳorân*, he asked one of the disputants what he had to say about the text, 'God commanded you concerning your children, the male's portion shall be the portion of two females'. The man replied that the text related specially to the believers. Aḥmed then asked him, what would be the rule if the man were a murderer, a slave, a Jew, or a Christian. To this his opponent made no answer. This argument Aḥmed apologized for using on the ground of their annoying manner of argument with him; and it would appear from this case that he was prepared to follow the text of the *Ḳorân* as closely as practical necessity would allow, but admitted the need, in special cases, of modification or expansion by means of additional light from some other source. This additional light he apparently would have borrowed only from well-established Tradition.

On this day, as on the previous one, Aḥmed Ibn Abi Dowâd, whenever opportunity offered, took an active part in the discussion. In one of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's three examinations in this trial, probably in the first or second, when he had declared his faith in the *Ḳorân* as uncreated, it was retorted upon him that he was setting up a similar being to God (dualistic view)¹). His reply was, 'He is one God, eternal; none is like him and none is equal. He is even as he has described himself'²). At the close of this session a private conference between the Khalif, Abd

1) Steiner, 77, cf. 90 f.

2) al-Makrizi, p. 4, وكان ابو عبد الله اذا نعى الى القل بخلق

al-Rahmân and Aḥmed again occurred, to which Aḥmed ibn Abî Dowâd was afterwards called in. At its close, Aḥmed was returned to the place of detention, and the history of the first night was repeated. Messengers came and went, and the two men who had been with him before came back and stayed with him through the night. Before the next day came, Aḥmed had a premonition that an issue would surely be reached at the coming session, and prepared himself for it.

Third Day. When the messenger came the next day Aḥmed was brought to the palace of the Khalif, and his fear began to be confirmed as he saw the great display of pomp and of armed men, apparently prepared for some special occasion. First, there was an audience, in which the learned men disputed with him, and then followed another private conference in which the Khalif, as before, besought Aḥmed to yield, in however slight a degree, so that he might grant him his freedom. The Khalif assured him of his having as much compassion for him as he would have for his own son Hârûn in such a case. Aḥmed's reply was the invariable one, asking for some ground for a change of faith adduced from the only sources which he recognized as authoritative. Finally the Khalif lost all patience when he saw that his hopes of a ground for leniency toward his prisoner were to be disappointed, and he ordered him to be taken

Aḥmed away and flogged. The flogging then ensued. *Be-scourged.* fore it occurred, a little knot was noticed in the sleeve of Aḥmed's kamîṣ, and he was asked what might be the explanation of it. (He said that it held two hairs of the Prophet¹). On learning this Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm saved

القرآن وضرب بالسياط يقل القرآن كلام الله غير مخلوق فإذا قيل
له القلب بذلك يؤدى الى التشبيه يقل أحد صد لا شبه له ولا
عدل وهو كما وصف به نفسه

¹) On hairs of the Prophet as charms cf. Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 358.

the kamiş from being destroyed. Before and during the course of the flogging, the Khalif sought to secure from Aḥmed a recantation, and seems to have been moved by compassion for him, though equally moved by a determination to drive him to repent of his obstinate refusal. Ibn Abi Dowād and the leaders who were with him did their best, however, to move the Khalif to put Aḥmed to death. When bound, Aḥmed complained to the Khalif that the punishment he was inflicting upon him was unlawful according to the declaration of the Prophet, who had said that the blood and possessions of any man who confessed that there was no God but Allah, and that he was God's Messenger, were inviolable. (Aḥmed Ibn Abi Dowād, thinking his master inclined to weaken out of admiration for Aḥmed's spirit and courage and from the conviction wrought by his arguments, reminded al-Mu'tasim that, if he yielded, he would certainly be said to oppose the doctrines of the former Khalif al-Ma'mūn, and men would regard Aḥmed as having obtained a victory over two sovereigns, a result which would stimulate him to assume a leadership fraught with evil consequences to the dominion of the Khalifs'). As he was bound to the whipping-posts the lictors, one hundred and fifty in

قَالَ أَبُو عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَجَعَلْتُ بَيْنَ الْعُقَايِينِ فَقُلْتُ يَا
 أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ لَا يَحِلُّ دَمُ امْرِءٍ مُسْلِمٍ يَشْهَدُ
 أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَأَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ إِلَّا بِأَحَدٍ ثَلَاثَ لِحْدَيْهِ وَقَالَ رَسُولُ
 اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَمَرْتُ أَنْ أَقْتُلَ النَّاسَ حَتَّى يَقُولُوا لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ فَلَمَّا قَالُوا
 عَصَوْا مِنِّي دِمَاءَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ فِيمَ تَسْتَحِلُّ دَمِي وَلَمْ آتِ شَيْعًا مِنْ عَذَابِ
 يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَذْكَرَ وَتَوَكَّلْتُ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ كَوَقُوفِي بَيْنَ
 يَدَيْكَ يَا أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَاقِبِ اللَّهَ فَلَمَّا رَأَى الْمُعْتَصِمُ ثُبُوتَ ابْنِ عَبْدِ
 اللَّهِ وَتَصَمُّيمَهُ لَأَن لَّا يَبَى عَبْدَ اللَّهِ لَخَشْيَةِ ابْنِ أَبِي دَوَادٍ مِنْ رَافِقِهِ

number it is said, advanced in turn and each struck him two strokes and then went aside ¹). At first, with each stroke Ahmed uttered a pious ejaculation, concerning the exact tenor of which the accounts vary ²). There is an apocryphal story to the effect that, after he had been struck twenty-

عليه فقال يا امير المؤمنين ان تركته قيل انك تركت مذهب المامون
وسخطت قوله وانه غلب خليفتين فهاجه ذلك وطلب كرسيه جلس
عليه وطم ابن ابي دواد واصحابه على راسه ثم قل للجلايين الخ

حدثنا ابو بكر الصهروردي بمكة قل رايت ابا 1) al-Subki, p. 136,

دن [در Cod.] بسهرورد وكان ممن ضرب احمد [بن حنبل]
بين يدي المعتصم قل دعينا في تلك الليلة ونحن خمسون ومائة
جلاد ان امرنا بضربه كنا نعدوا على ضربه ونمر ثم يجرى الاخر على
ثم دعا بجلاد له يقال له ابو النّين, 1506, cf. Abū Nu'aim, 1506, اثره ثم يضرب
فقال في كم تقتله قل في خمسة او عشرة او خمسة عشر او عشرين
فقال اقتله]

فلما ضرب سوطا قل بسم الله فلما ضرب الثاني قل 2) al-Makrizi, p. 8,
لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله فلما ضرب الثالث قل القرآن كلام الله غير
مخلوق فلما ضرب الرابع قل قل لن يصيبنا الا ما كتب الله لنا
فضربه تسعة وعشرين سوطا وكانت تكة سراويله حاشية ثوب فانقطعت
فنزل السراويل الى عانته [عورته read] فقلت الساعة ينهتك فرمى ابو
عبد الله طرفه نحو السماء وحرك شفتيه فما كان باسع من ان
بقى السراويل لم ينزل قل ميمون فدخلت الى ابي عبد الله بعد
سبعة ايام فقلت يبا عبد الله رايتك يوم ضربوك قد اتحل سراويلك
فرفعت طرفك نحو السماء رايتك تحرك شفتيك فاني شئ قلت قل
قلت اللهم اني اسالك باسمك الذي ملأت به العرش ان كنت تعلم

nine strokes, Ahmed's nether garment threatened to fall to the ground, but that it was miraculously restored to its place and fastened securely, in answer to a prayer which

انى على الصواب فلا تهتك لى سترا وروى انه قال يا من لا يعلم
العرش منه اين هو الا هو ان كنت على الحق فلا تبد عرقى انتهى
وذكر البيهقى انه فى اول سوط قال بسم الله وفى الثانى قال توكلت
على الله وهذا فى رضى الله وفى الثالث قال ما شاء الله كان وكل
شىء عنده بمقدار وفى الرابع قال لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله وفى الخامس قال
يا امير المؤمنين انك موقوف ومُساأل عني بين يدي رب لا يظلم ويأخذ
للمظلم من الظالم وفى السادس قال يا امير المؤمنين سالتك بالله والدار
الآخرة قال وهو لا يرفع راسه اليه وفى السابع قال يا امير المؤمنين اذكر
الوقوف بين يدي الله كوقوفى بين يديك لا تستطيع منعا ولا من
نفسك دفعا فلما ضربه الثامن اضطرب المئزر فى وسطه قال المروزي
وعباس بن مسكينه الهمذاني لقد راينا احمد رفع راسه الى السماء
وحرك شفتيه فما استتم الدعاء حتى راينا كفا من ذهب قد خرج
من تحت مئزره فردّ المئزر الى موضعه بقدره الله تعالى فصاحت العامة
وهبوا بالهجوم على دار السلطان فامر بحلّه قال المروزي وابن مسكينه
فدخلنا على ابي عبد الله فقلنا اى شىء كان تحريك شفّتيك عند
اضطراب المئزر قال رفعت بصرى الى السماء وناديت يا غياث
المستغيثين يا رب العالمين ان كنت تعلم انى قائم بحق فلا تهتك
عرقى فاستجاب الله دعائى قال فكان اسحق بن ابراهيم يقول انا
والله رايت يوم ضرب احمد وقد ارتفع السراويل من بعد انخفاضه
وانعقد من بعد انحلاله وما رايت يوما كان اعظم على المعتصم من
ذلك اليوم والله لو لم يرفع عند الضرب لم يبرح من مكانه الا ميتا

he uttered. Some of the accounts go even so far as to say that a hand of gold was seen to go out from under his upper garment and adjust what was deranged¹). As the flogging progressed Ahmed lost consciousness under the blows, and was removed in an unconscious state into a room near by. Meanwhile, the crowd outside the Palace courtyard became moved with anger at the Khalif's treatment of Ahmed, perhaps, too, the report of his collapse had reached them; in any case, they were preparing to attack the Palace, when the Khalif ordered the suspension of the punishment. This order was due, it is likely, more to the fear of the multitude on the part of al-Mu'tasim than to any other cause. One account relates that, even after Ahmed was brought in unconsciousness to the room, his torturers continued their abuse by trampling upon him with their feet. When consciousness came back he was offered sawik for the purpose of producing vomiting, but he refused to take it. Subsequent to this, he was removed to the house of Ishak ibn Ibrahim, where, after a short detention, he was set free, and went to his own dwelling. The date when all this occurred was within the last ten days of Ramadân, 219 A. H., though the particular day is not known²). Ahmed does not seem to have harbored blame against the Khalif for having done what he did, and, afterwards, declared that he had no ill-will against any of those who had taken part in his persecution.

Sequel to the Scourging. In his own dwelling he was visited by the prison physician and treated until he was cured of his wounds. The scars, however, remained on him to the day of his death; and he never ceased to suffer from the dislocation of his wrists, which was brought about by neglect to take hold, as he was advised to do, of the upper parts [lit. teeth] of the whipping posts. When he failed to do this the principal weight of his body was suspended from the wrists. After the scourging, al-Mu'tasim brought

1) vid. foregoing note.

2) Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

out Ishāk ibn Ḥanbal (Aḥmed's uncle) to the people, and asked them ~~to witness that he would testify~~ that he [the Khalif] gave over to them their Imām without hurt or damage to his body. It is said that if the Khalif had not caused this deception to be practised, the people would have risen in insurrection. As it was however, they were calmed and evil consequences were averted. It was the wish of Ibn Abi Dowād that Aḥmed should now be imprisoned; but al-Muṭaṣim was angry at the suggestion, and commanded his lieutenant Ishāk to set Aḥmed free. It is probable, that in this instance, likewise, fear of a popular uprising deterred the Khalif from continuing to use severe measures against his prisoner. As matters stood al-Muṭaṣim gave him the gala dress, and as already related had him sent to his dwelling; and, as long as he was confined to his house, had his lieutenant Ishāk enquire every day about his condition. The gala clothes, however, Aḥmed sold and distributed the price in alms¹⁾.

1) al-Maḥrizī, p. 8, فصل فيما وقع له رضى الله عنه بعد انقضاء الحنة قال ابن ابي حاتم سمعت ابا زرعة يقول دعا المعتصم باسحق عم احمد بن حنبل ثم قال للناس تعرفونه كلوا نعم قال فانظروا اليه اليكم صحيح البدن [i. e. 'Look ye at him. Thou, Ishāk ibn Ḥanbal, is he, Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, not sound in body?'] Ishāk, thereupon, nodded assent. Supply after اليه, فقال يرايه نعم, البدن and after ثم قال لاسحق, اياه, ولموا انه فعل ذلك لوقع شر لا يقدر على دفعه فلما قال قد سلمته اليكم صحيح البدن قدأ الناس وسكتوا وكان ابن ابي دواد يجادل الخليفة على حبس ابي عبد الله وعدم اطلاقه ويقول يا امير المؤمنين احبسه فانه فتنة فغضب المعتصم وقال لنايبه يا اسحق اطلقه قال ابو عبد الله فلا يجد بدا من ان يتخلى عني ولموا انه كان قد حبسني وقال المعتصم لم ليس هذا كما وصفتكم قال انبيئى ولكم انهم وضعوا من قدره وقللوه وصغروه عنده فلما شاهده رآى ما عنده

It is related that he remained only sixteen days at the Camp, and during this period used altogether as food a rub^c of sawiḵ (i. e. four handfuls of parched barley ground to meal). He took every night a dram of water and every third night a handful of sawiḵ. So much wasted was he by these experiences that it was a full six months after his return home before he seemed like himself again ¹⁾.

Mihna in During the short governorship of al-Muzaffar
Egypt in the ibn Kaidar, who succeeded his father in Egypt,
Reign of there came to him a letter from the Khalif al-
al-Mu'tasim. Mu'tasim ordering a renewal of the Mihna. Al-
Muzaffar tested the doctors in pursuance of the order he had

عرف له فضله وقتل ميمون بن الاصبع أخرجه احمد بعد ان اجتمع
الناس وضجوا حتى خاف السلطان فخرج قل البيهقي قل حنبل
خلع عليه المعتصم مَبْطُنَةً وقميصا وطيلسانا وخُفًا وقلنسوة وأخرج
على دابة عند غروب الشمس فصار الى منزله ومعه الناس فدخل
منزله ورَمَى بنفسه على وجهه وخلع ما كان خلع عليه فامر به فبيع
واُخذ ثمنه فتصدق به وبلغنا ان ابا اسحق يعنى المعتصم ندم
وأسقط في يده وامر اسحق نائبه ان لا يقطع عنه خبره قل فكان
اسحق ياتينا كل يوم يتعرف خبره حتى صبح وترا بعد العلاج
وخرج للصلاة وللحمد لله

حدثنا ابى والحسين بن محمد قالا ثنا احمد 1) Abū Nu'aim, 1426 f. ابن محمد بن عمر قال سمعت عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل يقول
• مكث ابى بالسكر عند الخليفة ستة عشر يوما ما ذاق شيئا الا
مقدار رُبْع سويقا كل ليلة كان يشرب شربة ماء وفي كل ثلاث ليال
يستق حنفة من السويق فرجع الى البيت ولم ترجع اليه نفسه
الا بعد ستة اشهر ورايت مرقبه دخلا في حديثه

received, but it brought him only an increase of the troubles of his short term of authority, and of the success of the test we know nothing ¹⁾). After him we have no specific record of trials for the *Ḳorân* in Egypt, but it is sure that al-Buwaitî underwent an examination in Egypt in the reign of al-Wâthik. A little later on his case will be again noticed. In the year 231 A. H. al-Wâthik sent a letter to his governors commanding the revival of the inquisition ²⁾). It must have been in the examinations which followed this command that al-Buwaitî was cited to answer for his faith ³⁾).

Al-Mu'ta- Al-Subkî is, probably, right when he asserts that *him* and al-Mu'taşim had not the learning which qualified *the Miḥna*-him to decide whether the doctrine of the *Ḳorân's* creation was right or wrong, and that the prosecution of the *Miḥna* by him was due, in great part, to the charge which was left him in the testament of al-Ma'mûn, and to the moving spirit among those by whom he was surrounded ⁴⁾). We do not hear of any further action against Aḥmed on the part of this Khalif. He died in the year 227 A. H.

Al-Wâthik After the death of al-Mu'taşim and the accession and Aḥmed of his son Hârûn al-Wâthik, Aḥmed became a very popular teacher, and was much resorted to. Al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alî the Kâdî of Baghdâd noticing this wrote to Ibn Abî Dowâd of the circumstance. Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, however, heard of what had been done, and of his own will refrained from teaching, before any action was taken against him. Ibn Abî Dowâd once again tried to persuade al-Wâthik to per-

1) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 649.

2) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 683; al-Sajîdî, *Tarikh al-Kholafâ*, 134.

3) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 686.

4) al-Subkî, p. 145, قال المبرخون ومع كونه كان لا يدري شيئا من العلم حمل الناس علي القيل بخلف القرآن قلت لان اخاه المامون اوصى اليه بذلك وانضم الى ذلك القاضي احمد بن ابي نود وامثاله cf. Weil, *Chalifen II*, p. 334.

secute Ahmed, but was unsuccessful. The Khalif let Ahmed alone; whether he was moved at all by admiration for him, or by a superstitious fear that something might happen to him should he lay violent hands on so holy a man, does not clearly appear¹⁾. It is reported of al-Wāthik in relation to the Miḥna that he did not personally wish it, but that the stimulus applied by his minister did not leave him much opportunity to escape from the work in which the latter was so zealous. The greater probability, as far as Ahmed ibn Ḥanbal enters into consideration, is that al-Wāthik, like his predecessor, feared a popular outbreak should anything further be visited upon the Imām. And, for the reason that he wished to please all parties, he took the course of asking Ahmed to leave Baghdād, and dwell at a distance from him. Ahmed, however, did not go away; he simply withdrew into a comparative seclusion, which he maintained for the greater part of his remaining life.

Al-Wāthik Al-Wāthik did, nevertheless, carry on the policy *Prosecutes* of his predecessors. His command to all the gov-
*the Miḥna.*ernors of the provinces to apply again the Miḥna for the Korān has been already mentioned²⁾. It was issued

1) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 8 f. الوائى ابنه هرون الوائى 1)
اكثر الناس من الاخذ عن الامام * احمد فشق ذلك على اهل
البدع فكتب الحسن بن على الجعد قاضى بغداد الى ابن ابي ذواد
ان احمد قد انبسط فى الحديث فلما بلغ ابا عبد الله امسك عن
الحديث من نفسه من غير ان يمنع واستمر ابن ابي ذواد يحسن
للوائى امتحان الناس بخلق القرآن ففعل ذلك لكنه لم يتعرض
للامم احمد قال الحافظ ابو الفرج اما لما علم من صبره او لانه خاف
على نفسه ان يعرض له شىء ببركته يعنى كما عرض لابييه الا انه
ارسل يقول له لا تساكنى بارضى فاختفى الى ان مات الوائى
vid. Weil, Chalifen II, 340; Abu'l-Maḥāsīn I, 691. 2) vid. p. 114.

in 231 A. H. It is said that he gave this order, notwithstanding the fact that he had withheld his father al-Mu'tasim from the application of the Miḥna ¹⁾. We have no record of those who were subjected to this examination, beyond the names and accounts of one or two who would not confess the doctrine of the Korân's creation and suffered for their faith.

Aḥmed ibn Naṣr The best known of those who suffered under this Khalif was Aḥmed ibn Naṣr ibn Mâlik al-Khuzamî. *zâ'î* ²⁾ from the city of Merv, who was of one of

1) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 683; al-Sujâtî, Tarikh al-Khol. 346.

2) v. Kremer, Herrsch. Ideen des Isl. 243; Weil, Chal. II, 341 f.; Dozy, Het Islamisme, 156; al-Sujâtî, Tarikh al-Kholafâ, 346; al-Ja'qûbî, II, 589; Tabarî, III, 444 f.; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab., I, 529 f.; al-Maḥrizî, 10 f. فلما اُحمَد بن

نصر فكان من اهل الدين والصلاح والامارين بالعرف سمع الحديث من مالك بن انس وغيره وروى عنه يحيى بن معين وغيره نراه الوائى الى القول بخلق القرآن فابى فلم يضر عنقه فضرِبَ وحمل راسه الى بغداد فنُصِبَ في الجانب الشرقى لهما وفي الجانب الغربى لهما وأما جسده فُصِّلَ بِسَرٍّ مَنْ رَأَى وروى الحافظ ابو الفرج بسنده الى ابراهيم بن اسمعيل قال كان احمد بن نصر خُلِيَ فلما قتل في الجنة وُصِّلَ راسه أُخْبِرْتُ ان الراس يقرأ القرآن فمضيت فبِتُ بقرب من الراس وكان قد وُكِّلَ به مَنْ يحفظه فلما هدأت العين سمعت الراس يقرأ القرآن أَلَمْ أَحْسِبَ النَّاسَ أَنْ يَتَرَكُوا أَنْ يَقُولُوا آمَنَّا وَهُمْ لَا يُفْتَنُونَ [Kor. 29. 1] فأتشعر جلدى ثم رأيت بعد ذلك في المنام وعليه السندس والاستبرق وعلى راسه تلج فقلت ما فعل الله بك قال غفر لى وادخلنى الجنة قال المرزى سمعت ابا عبد الله احمد بن حنبل وذكر احمد بن نصر فقال رحمه الله ما كان استخاء لقد جاد بنفسه

the leading families of his tribe. One of his teachers was Mâlik ibn Anas and of his pupils one was Yaḥya ibn Maʿīn. Ibn Naṣr was, at first, left unmolested, but afterwards was apprehended for a cause that will be presently shewn. He was, according to Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, a man of noble spirit, and we know from other sources that he was of distinguished ancestry, both his father and grandfather having held high places under the Abbâside khalifs. At the same time, he had a great name among the orthodox traditionists and was himself a man of staunch orthodox belief. For this reason, he had a deep hatred toward the Khalif and Ibn Abī D-
wâd, and openly defied both by his bold profession that the *Ḳorân* was the uncreated Word of God. When the people of the quarter of Baghdâd known as 'Amr ibn 'Aṭâ saw his temper and considered his rank, they induced him to lend his moral and, it may be, also his material support to a conspiracy against the Khalifate. It was all arranged that the city of Baghdâd was to be taken on a certain night, when the drunkenness of some of the conspirators on the night previous to that which had been appointed led them to give the signal for the attack on that night, with the result that the mass of the confederates did not respond, and the leaders of the conspiracy were at once arrested by order of the acting-governor, Moḥammed ibn Ibrâhîm, their arrest being due to the turning State's-evidence of one of the subordinate plotters. Strangely enough, when brought before al-Wâthik, the latter asked Ibn Naṣr nothing about his part in the incipient insurrection, but began, instead, to question him about the *Ḳorân* and the actual seeing of God on the day of Resurrection¹⁾; perhaps, because the case against him on this count was much stronger than it would have been on that of sedition. When al-Wâthik questioned him about his belief relative to the *Ḳorân*, he, however, in reply, would give nothing but that he believed it to be the Word of God.

1) al-Wâthik had forbidden his subjects to profess either of these beliefs, Houtsma, *De Strijd over het Dogma*, 109.

One rather inflated tradition represents that Ibn Abî Dôwâd urged the Khalif to give his prisoner a delay, as he was an old man temporarily out of his senses and would come to a better mind if allowed time. Al-Wâthik in the tradition appears as rejecting this view, and as declaring that Ibn Naşr's unbelief had disciplined him to the view he had expressed. Whatever may be the truth of this story, the trial had not proceeded far when the Khalif called for the execution carpet and the sword Samsama; and, desiring to be allowed to personally strike off the obstinate infidel's head, as he expected to be rewarded by Heaven for disposing of him, he was allowed to try to despatch the martyr. He could not accomplish it, however, and Sima al-Dimashki had to come to his aid and dispose of the man. The head was then ordered to be sent to Baghdâd; where for some days it was exposed to view in the eastern part of the city, and then for some days in the western part, after which it was fixed up permanently in the eastern portion. The execution occurred on the second last day of Sha'bân, 231 A. H., and the trunk and head remained exposed to public view for six years, until the Khalif al-Mutawakkil ordered them to be taken down, and handed over for burial to Aḥmed ibn Naşr's relations ¹⁾).

A fabulous story, to the effect that the head, after being exposed, recited the Korân until it was buried, is equalled by another which relates that, long years afterwards, a hunting party found the body and head of Aḥmed ibn Naşr buried in the desert sand, and that there was not the slightest indication of decay upon them ²⁾).

1) Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 719.

2) al-Subki, p. 142 f. قلت وبلغني وما أراه إلا في تاريخ للحاكم أن بعض الأمراء خرج يتصيد فالتقاء السير على أرض نزل بها فعبث بعض غلمانهم في التراب فحضر [Read محفر] حتى رأى ميتا في قبره طريا وهو في ناحية ورأسه في ناحية وفي أذنه رقعة عليها شيء مكتوب

Nu'aim ibn Hammād. Nu'aim ibn Hammād was another who held out. He was the fourth of a quartette who came from Merv and endured with steadfastness the Miḥna; the first was Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the others, Moḥammed ibn Nûḥ al-Maḍrûb and Aḥmed ibn Naṣr. Nu'aim ibn Hammād studied Tradition a great deal in the Hijâz and 'Irâk and went, afterwards, to Egypt. In the Khalifate of al-Wâthik, he was brought from Egypt and examined; and, not satisfying the demand made upon him to confess the Kōrân to be created, he was thrown into prison where he died ¹).

Abû Ya'kûb Abû Ya'kûb, Yûsuf ibn Yaḥya al-Buwaiṭi, the pupil of al-Shâfi'i to whom he entrusted his circle of scholars at his death, was imprisoned for his refusal to acknowledge that the Kōrân was created, and died in prison 232 A. H. One of his fellow Shâfi'ites, al-Rabi' ibn Sulcimân, relates that he saw al-Buwaiṭi in his chains, and heard him saying, 'God created the creation by 'Kun' [Be!], but, if 'Kun' be created, then it is as if a created thing created what was created ²). By God! I will die in these thy chains, that

فاحضر من قراء فإذا هو بسم * الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا راس احمد بن نصر هذه الكلمات السابقة فعلموا انه راس احمد للخزاعي فدفن ورفع سنم قبره وكان هذا في زمن الحاكم ابي عبد الله الحافظ وهو على طراوته وكيف لا وهو شهيد رحمه الله ورضي عنه

واما نعيم بن حماد فكان من اهل مرو طلب ¹) al-Makrizi, p. 11, الكثير من الحديث بالحجاز والعراق ثم نزل مصر ثم اشخص منها في خلافة الواثق وسئل عن القرآن فلم يوافقهم على ما ارادوه منه يعني القبل بخلقه فحبس حتى مات

²) 'Kun' is here employed as synonymous with a manifestation of the Heavenly Word of God (as explained later in the present work). Al-Buwaiṭi seems to have been in full agreement with his master al-Shâfi'i, and the latter in turn with Aḥmed, as far at least as the Kōrân was concerned (cf. p. 49 and Abu'l-Mah. I, 686). The discussion of 'Kun' in Houtsma, De Strijd etc., 129, seems to look toward other views than those held by the orthodox at the time of the Miḥna.

those coming after us may know that men have died in their bonds for this cause; and, if I go in to him [al-Wāthik], I will declare the truth before him'. From prison he wrote to al-Rabī' ibn Suleimān entrusting him with the care of his circle of pupils, and bidding him be faithful to them¹⁾.

The remaining history of the Mihna in the reign of al-Wāthik is shortly told. There is one incident which is in keeping with the fanatical bigotry shewn by Aḥmed ibn Abī Dowād in his efforts to establish the doctrine that the Ḳorān was created. In the year 231 A. H., it was proposed to ransom 4600 prisoners from the Greeks, when Ibn Abī Dowād suggested that they should ransom only such as admitted the creation of the Ḳorān, and that these should each receive two dinārs on their release. This was actually done, and a small number of prisoners, who could not bring their consciences up to the point of meeting the test, were left unredeemed in the hands of the Greeks²⁾.

1) Hammer-Purgstall, Lit. Gesch. III, p. 200, N°. 1050; al-Sujūti, Tarikh al-Khol. 350; Abu'l-Feda Ann. II, 132; Fihrist I, 212; Abu'l-Mahasin, I, 686; al-Makrizi, p. 11, *أما أبو يعقوب يوسف بن يحيى البريطى فآيد*

منه القول بخلق القرآن فامتنع فأحبس الى ان مات سنة اثنتين وثلاثين ومائتين قل الربيع بن سليمان صاحب الشافعى رايت البريطى على بغل فى عنقه غل وفى رجليه قيد وبين الغل والقيد سلسلة حديد فيها طوبة وزنها اربعون رطلا وهو يقول انما خلق الله الخلق بكن [cf. Kor. 6, 72] فلما كانت كُن مخلوقة فكان مخلوقا خلق مخلوقا والى لاموتن فى حديدك هذا حتى يلقى من بعدى قوم يعلمون انه قد مات فى هذا الشأن قوم فى حديدك ولئن دخلت عليه يعنى الوائف لأصنفته

2) Tabari III, 130 ff.; De Goeje, Fragm. Hist. Arab. II, 531; Abu'l-Mah. I, 684; al-Subki, p. 146.

Al-Wāthik Sur- Al-Wāthik is generally considered to have
renders the Doc- given up the doctrine of the Miḥna before his
trine of the death, and an incident ¹⁾ which we may ac-
Korān's Creation. cept as fundamentally true, accounts for its

Alleged surrender. Ibn Abi Dowād caused to be brought
Cause. before the Khalif a sheikh of Adhana on the charge
of heresy. The Khalif bade him discuss the question of the
creation of the Korān with Ibn Abi Dowād, but the old
man objected on the ground that Aḥmed ibn Abi Dowād
was a Sabacan and was too unsound in his views to spend
words upon. At this al-Wāthik began to be very angry, but
the sheikh promised to prove his points, if the Khalif would
but give close attention to the discussion which was to take
place between them.

To begin with, the sheikh asked Ibn Abi Dowād if his
view were to be looked upon as an essential of the believ-
er's creed. The latter answered that it was to be so re-
garded. Then the sheikh pointed out that God, having sent
Moḥammed with a revelation to his people, the Messenger
of God did not leave unpublished any part of the Divine
Message. Ibn Abi Dowād allowed that Moḥammed had fully
delivered the Message. His opponent then asked, 'if (on the
basis of the revelation made through him) the Prophet had
called upon men to accept the doctrine of the Korān's cre-
ated existence. Ibn Abi Dowād gave to this no answer,
and the sheikh claimed from al-Wāthik one point establish-
ed in proof of his charges. The Khalif allowed the point.

The second step was the quotation of Korān 5. 5, 'This
day have I completed for you your religion and perfected
my grace upon you'; and the sheikh asked how any new
doctrine could be justifiable in view of such a passage. Ibn
Abi Dowād did not attempt a defence of his position against
this assault upon it, and the sheikh claimed his second
point, which al-Wāthik conceded him.

1) v. Kremer, *Herrsch. Ideen*, 243 ff.; al-Sujūṭī, *Tarikh al-Kholafā*, 347 f.;
Abu'l-Mah. I, 691 f.; al-Makrizī, p. 9 f.; al-Subkī, p. 143.

In the third place, the old man asked if the Prophet had known the doctrine now propounded, and if he had ever invited men to accept it. Ibn Abi Dowâd claimed that Moḥammed knew the doctrine, but he would not answer the question as to whether the Prophet had made its profession obligatory upon the believer or not. Here the sheikh claimed his third and final point. But he did not stop here. He argued that, allowing Moḥammed to have known the doctrine in point and the early Khalifs to have known it; seeing that both he and they had been satisfied to refrain from obliging men to confess the tenet of the Korân's creation, was it the part of a modern zealot to do what they had not done? Supposing they did believe as he did, was it not his part to keep his belief a mere private opinion as they had done, instead of forcing people to think as himself? A companion of the Khalif al-Muhtadi who tells this story says that al-Muhtadi, who was present on the occasion, gave up the doctrine of the creation of the Korân from this time, and that al-Wâthik ordered the sheikh to be at once set free, and, apparently, himself believed no longer as he had believed relative to the Korân. Other accounts say that al-Wâthik changed his view before he died, and, in the connection where it occurs in the Arabic record, the testimony of al-Muhtadi is cited to shew that the incident above given occurred toward the end of al-Wâthik's Khalifate ¹.

Al-Mutawakkil Al-Mutawakkil began to reign in 232, and *Abrogates the Miḥna.* the Miḥna continued to exist for two years in his reign, being brought to a close in the

year 234. The whole term of its duration was, thus, from the last year of al-Ma'mûn, 218 A. H., to the ~~year of~~ ^{year of} the third year of al-Mutawakkil, 234 A. H. In the latter year, al-Mutawakkil stopped the application of the test, and by public proclamation throughout the Empire ~~declared that~~ ^{declared that}

1) Steiner, 78, says al-Wâthik brought the Miḥna to a close and the result is that he went no further than to change his ~~view~~ ^{view} in relation to the Miḥna and to purpose abrogating the test. The ~~last~~ ^{last} government him from carrying his purpose into effect.

pain of death¹⁾ to profess the creation of the *Ḳorān*. At this there was great rejoicing everywhere. Men praised the virtues of the Khalif, and forgot his vices; prayers for blessing upon him were heard on all sides and his name was mentioned with those of the good Khalifs Abū Bekr and 'Omar ibn Abd al-Azīz. Two things alone were remembered against him by his Muslim subjects, both of which occurred in the year 236 A. H. The one was the permission granted for the sack of Damascus to the Turkish soldiery (the event however did not happen); and the other, the destruction of the tomb of al-Ḥosain together with the buildings round about it, and the conversion of the land into fields²⁾.

1) On death penalty for heresy cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 216.

2) cf. v. Kremer, *Herrsch. Ideen d. Isl.* 245 ff.; cf. Dozy, *Het Islam*. 163; cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 133; *Abu'l-Mah.* I, 691, 695, 702; *al-Sujāṭi*, *Tar. al-Khol.* 352; *al-Ja'qūbi* II, 592; *al-Subki*, p. 143, وقد ظل امر هذه الفتنة وظال، شرها واستمر من هذه السنة التي هي سنة ثمان عشرة ومائتين الى سنة اربع وثلاثين ومائتين فرفعها المتوكل في مجلسه ونهى عن النقل بخلق القرآن وكتب بذلك الى الافاق وتوفّر دعاء الخلق له وبالغوا في الثناء عليه والتعظيم له حتى قل قاتلهم الخلفاء ثلاثة ابو بكر الصديق يوم الرنة وعمر بن عبد العزيز في رده المظالم والمتوكل في احياء السنة وسكت الناس عن ذنوب المتوكل وقد كانت العامة تنقم عليه شيئين احدهما [Abu'l-Mah. I, 714] انه ندب لدمشق افريدون التركي احد مماليكه وصيره والياً عليها وكان ظالماً فانكا فقدم في سبعة الاف فارس واباح لهم المتوكل القتل والنهب على ما نقل اليينا ثلاث ساعات فنزل ببيت لهيا واراد ان يصبح البلد فلما أصبح نظر الى البلد وقتل ما يراه يصبحك متى تقدمت له بغلة فضربتة بالزوج فقتلته وقبره ببيت لهيا ورد الجيش الذي معه خائبين وبلغ المتوكل فصلحت نيته لاهل دمشق والثاني [Abu'l-Mah. I, 712; *Fragm. Hist. Arab.* II, 546.]

General Taking a general survey of the inquisition¹⁾ in-
Survey of *argued* by al-Ma'mūn, and carried on by the
the Mihna two succeeding Khalifs, we can say that as an at-
 tempt to stamp out by force moral convictions it was a
 failure from the start; for, in the Muslim world as everywhere
 else, there was an admiration and a moral support accorded
 by the great body of the people to those who suffered per-
 secution, such as might have led men far less sincere than
 Ahmed ibn Hanbal to stand out against a tyrannous crusade
 of repression²⁾. That the principles of the strictest orthodox

انه امر بهدم قبر الحسين وهدم ما حوله من الدور ون يعمل مزارع
 ومنع الناس من ولادته وحرقه وقضى صخره فتكلم تسلمين لذلك
 وكتب اهل بغداد شتمه على الخيطن وتسنجد

وكان الحافظ ابو الفرج روى المتوكلى على الله سنة
 اثنتين وثلاثين ومئتين فظهر الله به السنة وكشف تلك الغمة فشكر
 الناس على ما فعل ثم ذكر بسنده الى محمد بن خلف قل كان
 ابراهيم بن محمد التيمي قاضي البصرة يقبل تخلفه ثلاثة ابر بكر
 قتل اهل الرقة حتى استجابوا له وعمر بن عبد العزيز رد مظلما بى
 امية والمتوكلى مكي البدع والظهر السنة

1) A short account of the Mihna and its issues is to be found, Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 154 ff.

2) Houtsma (*De Strijd etc.* 106 f.) appears to make the motive for the re-
 sistance of the orthodox theologians to their rationalistic opponents one of
 religious policy. If they surrendered the doctrine of the uncreated nature of
 the Korān, the hope of the universal spread of Islam would have to be given
 up. I have not found this motive alleged in any of my sources, but can well
 believe that it may have been a secondary, though not a primary one. The
 primary motive was altogether personal. Ahmed and those who stood with
 him had a simple belief, incapable of analysis, in the eternity and unorigina-
 teness of the Korān; they hoped, too, for a reward if they maintained their
 faith at all costs, and feared grave spiritual consequences should the doctrine
 be given up. The honor of God, the Divine Legation of the Prophet, the
 unique and ineffable dignity of the Korān, and, finally, the everlasting well-

party, of which Aḥmed was the leading representative, did not win their way in the following generations of Islām was not because they had been killed out by persecution, but because a more liberal and enlightened sentiment had been introduced into the Muslim commonwealth; because the yoke this Puritanism would have imposed was one which people could not bear amid the practical concerns of everyday life; and because the system rested upon casuistries, which, though deductively perfect, were false in their premises and could never have satisfied the untrammelled common sense of men. The inquisition only retarded the development of freer and purer conceptions among the adherents of the religion of the Prophet. But the retardation was not an unmixed evil. It checked, for a time, a philosophical movement, to give it a theological and religious concern, without which the Muslim people would have had for their teachers men indifferent to practical questions of religious life and observance, and unsympathetic in their attitude toward popular theological conceptions.

Of the men, persecuting and persecuted, connected with the Miḥna, Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal comes out with the greatest credit to himself. Bishr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Hāfi had a saying that God had cast Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal into the crucible and he had come out pure gold. Aḥmed's method of argument was no more unsound than that of his opponents¹⁾.

being of their own souls and the souls of those who looked to them for an example — these are expressed motives for the orthodox apologetic, which in some cases became a defence of conviction even unto death. The faith in the Divine and uncreated nature of the Korān lay at the root of all their arguments and actions in this defence. In the historical instances of such a resistance as this the personal element of conviction, rather than any considerations of religious policy, has been the moving principle of the defence which has been put forward.

1) The statement of Houtsma (De Strijd etc. 106) would give the impression that the orthodox when in disputation with their opponents had no arguments worth mentioning to offer, and were quite incapable of dealing with those who stood against them. Judging from a modern point of view neither side had very strong points; but, judged from a Muslim standpoint, the

They had, on philosophical grounds, declared the *Ḳorân*, as well as the attributes of God, to be created; but, when they opposed him, they sought to convict him of error on his own ground, and by his own method of proof, and he seems to have had the better of them in most of their word passages. The arguments used were childish enough, but not more so for him than for them. The fact that he had earnest convictions to defend, and that many of those who stood against him had been either frightened or bribed into taking their present stand, stood him in good stead, and must command our respect as we, to-day, review the whole historical scene in which he is a figure.

As to al-Ma'mûn, he evidently disliked the slavishness of orthodoxy, and was impatient at its many absurdities; but he shewed at the same time how easy it is for a learned man to display a disdainful and narrow spirit toward the unlearned, for a philosopher to become a dogmatist, and for an advocate of liberal views to become a tyrant toward those of stricter beliefs.

Ahmed ibn Abi Dowâd was a man whom one finds it difficult to credit with earnest convictions. His first master, al-Ma'mûn, may be credited with acting in the belief that he was right and in the consequent wish to secure the general adoption of his opinions; but his minister will not be misjudged if we look upon him as actuated by contempt and violent hatred toward men of strict life and toward zealous advocates of religious duties, whose puritanism appeared in his eyes to be but pharisaic hypocrisy. He is not

disputations which are recorded in these pages shew that the orthodox had the great arguments of the Word of God and the Tradition, and could wield these as well or better than their opponents. Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm the governor, Abd-al-Rahmân ibn Ishâk, and al-Mu'tasim are all said to have been impressed by the force of what Ahmed ibn Hanbal said and the way in which he said it. Steiner (*Die Mu'taziliten*, 8) says that the *Mu'tazila* used the *Ḳorân* interpreting it allegorically and giving their reasonings a philosophical cast. Houtsma, (*De Strijd* etc. 80) speaks of the *Mu'tazila* as being, in general, men lacking in earnestness and given to dialectic trifling in disputation.

as black a character as the partisans of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal would represent him to be, but I have met no record of his connection with the Miḥna which shews him as other than arbitrary and unfeeling, except the isolated reference in the trial of Aḥmed ibn Naṣr the conspirator whom al-Wāthiq put to death. There, as we have already seen, Ibn Abī Dowād suggests, when al-Wāthiq grows angry with Ibn Naṣr for persisting in his belief, that the prisoner is an old man whose mind is deranged, but who will see differently when he has had time to come to himself. This account, be it remarked, occurs in al-Subkī's Ṭabakāt (life of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal), where Ibn Abī Dowād finds from the author an apology for his acts in more than one instance, but in each case the apology is a personal opinion of the author of the book, rather than well supported historical tradition. In earlier accounts, and in later as well, Ibn Abī Dowād is put before us as an able man, with eminent social qualities, but with a persecuting spirit in administration; and, though we have said that al-Ma'mūn wished to enforce the Miḥna before he really did so, we must remember that he actually did not do so of his own motion, but that it was Ibn Abī Dowād alone who turned the scale which brought about the long tyranny of sixteen years ending shortly after al-Mutawakkil's accession. We can believe too, that had it not been for him the Miḥna would have lapsed for want of interest or from positive distaste on the part of al-Mu'taṣim or al-Wāthiq.

For al-Mu'taṣim's part in this movement we have not much to say. He found no pleasure in the wretched business of persecuting men's convictions, and clearly shewed in Aḥmed's case that, had it not been for obligations which he held to be inviolable, he would have had nothing to do with the enforcement of the test as to the Korān.

Al-Wāthiq, as to his part in the Miḥna, is in somewhat greater degree a return to al-Ma'mūn. Like his predecessors he, too, was dominated by Ibn Abī Dowād. The re-

corded cases, very few in number, of those whom he tried for the *Ḳorān* evince cruelty as a feature of this Khalif's character, and that of Aḥmed ibn Naṣr, in particular, is positively brutal ¹⁾).

Not much can be said in favor of those who yielded in the Miḥna. The assent of the first seven who were summoned to the Khalif's presence was the fatal factor which led to the following up of the persecution. Still, it was not the less weakness in those who recanted afterwards that they should have been terrified into submission. The doctrine of the *Taḳīa* was generously applied to them by their friends and companions, and, no doubt, saved them a great deal in the estimation of the public; but their course was not felt by themselves to have been creditable, and bitter was the regret of men like Yaḥya ibn Ma'īn that the sword should have frightened them into surrender of a doctrine which was felt to be the truth. It is the fault of an age of controversy that theological opinions are based too much on the logic of words, and not upon verities from which the moral and intellectual judgment cannot separate itself. This was the case with the doctrine of the unoriginate nature of the *Ḳorān*. Its evidences were simply words, and it was only an exceptional character like Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, who had seen the purely speculative question of the *Ḳorān*'s origin in relations, the maintenance of which seemed to him to involve the very existence of his religious life and faith, to whom a surrender of his opinion became of transcendent moment. Others had not the same great conception of the question that he had, they knew it only as one of the controverted points in the polemic which was going on about them. The surrender of it might be a victory for an opponent, but it was worth making for the sake of one's life. Those who yielded took, at a later date, a more serious view of what they had done, but, at the time when they

1) In the account of Aḥmed ibn Naṣr's execution, p. 118, we have suppressed the more harrowing features.

committed the act of denying their own confession; it appeared as simply a question of yielding an unessential point and acknowledging themselves beaten. Even their plea of the Taḳia cannot be taken as rendering this explanation nugatory; though it might seem to suggest that they looked upon their act as one involving the cardinal sin of apostasy, to which sin the Taḳia stood specially related. This plea was but an excuse used for effect upon the people, and was not, of course, an explanation of how they came to do what they had done. Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal excused them on this ground, but his excuse contemplates the act after its commission and finds grounds of pardon for it. It does not offer any exposition of its inward cause and significance. The Taḳia itself might render impossible the proving of an act to be apostasy, for it could often be urged that a man's apostasy was but in word, while in heart he was sound in the faith.

Notwithstanding the testimony of historians to al-Muta-wakkil's cruelty, it cannot be said that he ever shewed any unkindness or impatience with Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. He might have been provoked to acts of harshness by Aḥmed's peevishness had he allowed himself to yield to the provocation, but he was, instead, constantly kind and thoughtful of the old man's comfort and welfare. He does not appear to have been as intolerant in matters of religion as his predecessors, unless his hostility to 'Alyite movements be counted as of a religious character ¹⁾). We are justified, in my judgment, in assuming that the interest in religion and theology which he shewed was not that of a persecuting partisan of a political faction, but of a sincere though fanatical religious bigot ²⁾). His connection with orthodoxy was, because free from any immediate and violent display of persecuting spirit ³⁾, hardly from a political motive. Counter persecution

1) On this hostility cf. pp. 140, 152; Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 712.

2) For a different view cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 57, 66; Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 163.

3) Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 113 *infra*.

would surely have followed the persecution already past, had al-Mutawakkil desired to make capital out of his connection with orthodoxy. It is more likely that his relation to theology and religion is to be explained by temperament and revulsion of feeling from the course of his predecessors. The latter, indeed, had already shewn strong signs that, personally, they were weary of the inquisition. They, however, still accorded in their theological views with the persecuting party and were subject to their influence. Al-Mutawakkil was, apparently, a Shāfi'ite¹⁾. None will deny that his theological position made him friends as a result, but, however black his record may be, and whatever there may be to blame in his narrow bigotry, we think that his intention was only to reform abuses in religion as he saw them²⁾.

III.

Al-Mutawakkil and Ahmed ibn Hanbal. In the early years of al-Mutawakkil's reign there were those who sought to injure Ahmed with the Khalif³⁾. One report, in particular, was

1) al-Sujūti, *Tarikh al-Khol.* 359.

2) Nearly all European writers impute political motives to this Khalif, as well as to al-Ma'mūn when he inaugurated the persecution. It may be admitted that al-Mutawakkil recognized the futility of persecution as long as the great mass of his subjects were of orthodox sympathies (Houtsma, 112); but the fact, which appears to be well established, that al-Mutawakkil was personally orthodox in his theological convictions, as well as the other facts which have been noticed in the text, would seem to fully account for what he did. It is nowhere stated in the original sources which I have consulted that he had any other motive than that of personal religious preference. Out of this personal ground sprang his intention to bring about a restoration of orthodoxy. His antagonism to 'Alyites, too, was more that of a fanatical representative of certain *views* than that of a man who hoped to make himself more popular with the majority by the step he took. The public feeling when he destroyed the tomb of al-Ḥusain shews this.

3) Abū Na'im, 150 b ff. (This source is now followed with a few exceptions which are noted) ذكر ورد كتاب المتوكل بمختته الاثر

that he had charged with Atheism the predecessors of

بجائزة له واشخاصه الى العسكر ثانيا رحمه الله حدثنا محمد بن جعفر
والأخسين بن محمد وعلى بن أحمد قالوا ثنا محمد بن اسمعيل بن
أحمد ثنا أبو الفضل صالح بن أحمد بن حنبل قال لما توفي إسحاق بن
إبراهيم ومحمد ابنه وولّى عبد الله بن إسحاق كتب المتوكل اليه ان
وجّه الى أحمد بن حنبل ان عندك طلبته أمير المؤمنين فوجّه بحاجبه
مظفر وحضر معه صاحب البريد وكان يعرف بابن الكلبي وكتب له
ايضا فقال له مظفر يقول لك الأمير قد كتب الى أمير المؤمنين ان
عندك [عبدك Cod.] طلبته [طلبته Cod.] وقال له ابن الكلبي مثل ذلك
وكان قد نام الناس فدفع الباب وكان على أبي رحمه الله أزار [أزارأ Cod.]
فتفتح لهم الباب وتعدوا على باريّة ومعهم نساء فلما قرئ عليه الكتاب*
قال لهم ابي ما اعرف هذا واني لأرى طاعته في العسر واليسر والمنشط
والمكره والاثرة واني أتأسف عن تخلفي عن الصلاة وعن حضور الجماعة
ودعوة المسلمين وقد كان إسحاق بن إبراهيم وجّه الى ابي ان الزم
بيتك ولا تخرج الى جمعة ولا جماعة والا نزل بك ما نزل في أيام ابي
إسحاق ثم قال ابن الكلبي قد أمرني أمير المؤمنين ان أحلفك ما
عندك طلبته فاحلف فقال ان إسحاقني حلفت فأحلفه [فأحلفه Cod.]
بالله والطلاق ما عندك [Read ما عنده Cod.] طلبته [طلبته Cod.] أمير
المؤمنين فكانهم أومروا الى ان عنده [عنده Cod.] عليّا ثم قال اريد ان
أفتش منزلك قال أبو الفضل وكنت حاضرا فقال ومنزل ابنك فقام مظفر
وابن الكلبي وامرأتان معهما فدخلوا ففتشوا البيت ثم قتشت الامرأتان
النساء والصبيان قال أبو الفضل ثم دخلوا منزلي ففتشوه ولبسوا شمعة
في البئر فنظروا ووجّهوا بالنسوة ففتشوا للحرم وخرجوا فلما كان بعد

the Khalif — a report which the latter did not appear to con-

يُومين ورد كتاب على بن الجهم أن أمير المؤمنين قد صَحَّحَ عنده
برأيتك ما قُرئت به وقد كان أهل البدع قدّموا اعتناهم فالحمد لله
الذي لم يشمتهم بك وقد وَجَّه اليك أمير المؤمنين يعقوب [يعقوب Cod.]
المعروف بقوصرة ومعه جائزة ولهم بالخروج فلهذا الله أن تستعفى أو
تَرُدَّ للجائزة، قال أبو الفضل ثم ورد من الغد يعقوب فدخل إلى أبي
فقال له يا أبا عبد الله أمير المؤمنين يقرأ عليك السلام ويقول قد صَحَّحَ
نقاء ساحتك وقد أحببت أن آنس بقربك واتبرك بدعائك وقد
وجهت اليك عشرة آلاف درهم معونة على سفرك وأخرج بدره فيها صرة
نحو من مائتي دينار والباقي دراهم صالح فلم ينظر إليها ثم شذها
يعقوب وقال له أعود غداً حتى انظر على ما تعزم عليه وقال له يا أبا
عبد الله الحمد لله الذي لم يشمت بك أهل البدع وانصرف فحجث
بالجائزة [بالجائزة Cod.] خضراء كُتبتُها على البدره فلما كان عند المغرب
قال يا صالح خذ هذه صيرها عندك فصيرتها عند راسي فوق البيت
فلما كان سحر ان هو ينال يا صالح فقامت وضعدت اليه فقال يا صالح
ما نمت ليلتي هذه فقلت له لِمَ فاجعل يبكي وهو يقول سلمت من
هولاء حتى اذا كان في آخر عمري بليت بكم قد عزمتم على أن افترق
هذا الشيء اذا أصبحت فقلت ذاك اليك فلما أصبح جاء الحسن
ابن البزار والمشايخ فقل جئني يا صالح بلليزان فقال وجهوا إلى ابنة
المهاجرين والانتصار ثم قال وجه إلى فلان حتى يفرق في ناحتته وإلى
فلان فلم يزل حتى فرقها كلها ونقص الكيس ونحن في حالة الله بها
عليهم فجاء بني له فقال يا أبا أعطى درهما فنظر إلى فأخرجت قطعة
أعطيتها وكتب صاحب البريد أنه تصدى بالدرهم من يومه حتى

sider very seriously, for he is said to have ordered the man

تَصَدَّقَ بالكيس قال على بن اَنَجَهْم فقلت يا امير المؤمنين قد تصدَّقَ
بها وعلَّم الناس انه قد قبل منك ما يصنع احمدا بالمال واما قوته رَغِيف
قال فقال لي صدقت يا علي، قال ابو الفضل ثم اُخرج ابى ليلا ومعنا
خُرَّاسٌ معهم النفاطات فلما اضاء الفجر قال يا صالح معك تَراهم قلت
نعم قال اعطاهم لَعَطِيَّتَهُمْ درهما درهما قال ابو
الفضل وقصَّرَ ابى * في خروجه الى العسكر وقال تُقَصِّرُ الصلاة في اربعة
برد وفي ستة عشر فرسخا واصليتُ به يوما انعصر فقال لي طَوَلْتُ بنا
العصر تقصِّراً في الركعة مقدار خمس عشرة آية وكنتُ اصلى به في
العسكر فلما صرنا بين الحائطين قال لنا يعقوب اقيموا ثم رَجَّه الى
المتوكل بما عَمِلَ فدخلنا العسكر وابى مُنْكَسُ الراس وراسه مَغْنَى فقال
له يعقوب اكشِفْ راسك يا اَبد الله فكشَفَ ثم جَاءَ وَحِيفٌ يُرِيدُ
الدار فلما نظر الى الناس وَجَمَعَهُمْ قال ما هؤلاء قالوا احمد بن حنبل
فوجدَ اليه بعد ما جاز بجحى بن هَرْتَمَةَ فقال يقرئك السلام ويقول
الحمد لله الذى لم يُشَمِّتْ بك اهل البدع قد علمت ما كان حالُ
ابن ابى دُواد فينبغى ان نتكلَّم بما يجب لله ومضى بجحى قال ابو
الفضل انزل ابى دار ايتاخ فجاء على بن الجهم فقال قد امر لكم امير
المؤمنين بعشرة آلاف مكانَ التى فُرِّقَها [ابوكم scil.] وامركم ان لا يُعَلِّمَ بذلك
فِيغْتَمُ ثم جَاءَهُ محمد بن معاوية فقال ان امير المؤمنين يُكثِرُ ذِكْرَكَ
ويقول تَقِيْمُ هاهنا تُحَدِّثُ فقال انا ضعيف ثم وَضَعَ اصبعه على بعض
اسنانه فقال ان بعضَ اسناني يَتَنَحَرِّكُ وما أَخْبَرْتُ بذلك وكَدَى ثم وجه
اليه ما تقول في بهيمتين انتطاحتا ففقرت احداهما الاخرى فسقطت
فدُبح فقال ان كان اطْرَفَ بَعِينِهِ ومضع بذنبه وسالَ تَمَهُ يُوَكِّلُ

who made it to be flogged for trying to injure a good subject.

قال ابو الفضل ثم صار اليه يحيى بن خاقان فقال يابا عبد
الله قد امرنى امير المؤمنين ان اصير اليك لتركب الى ابى عبد
الله [المعتز. l. c.] ثم قال لى قد امرنى ان اقطع له سوادا وثلثاسانا
وقلنسوة فالى قلنسوة يلبس فقلت له ما رايتك لبس قلنسوة قط
فقال له ان امير المؤمنين قد امرنى ان تصير لك مرتبة فى اعلا
المراتب [Cod. omits] ويصير ابو عبد الله فى حاجبك ثم قال لى ان
امير المؤمنين قد امر ان يجزى عليكم وعلى قراباته اربعة الاف
درهم ففرقتها عليهم ثم عاد يحيى من الغد فقال يابا عبد الله تركب
فقال ذاك اليكم فقل استخير الله فليس ازاره وخفيه وقد كان خفه
قد اتي له عنده نحو من خمسة عشر سنة مرقوع برقع عدة فاشار
يحيى الى يلبس [تلبس. Cod.] قلنسوة فقلت له ما له قلنسوة قال
كيف يدخل عليه حاسرا ويحيى قائم فطلبنا له دابة يركبها فقال
يحيى تفضلنى [نضلى. Cod.] لجلس على التراب وقال منها خلقناكم
وفيها نعيدكم [Kor. 20. 57] ثم ركب بغل بعض [بعض. Cod.] التجار
فصينا معه حتى ادخل دار المعتز فاجلس فى بيت الدليلز ثم جاء
يحيى فآخذ بيده حتى ادخله ورفع الستر ونحن ننظر وكان المعتز
قاعدا على دكان فى الدار وقد كان يحيى تقدم اليه فقال لا تمد
يدك اليه فلما صعد الدكان جلس فقال له يحيى يابا عبد الله
ان امير المؤمنين جاء بك ليستر بقربك ويصير ابو عبد الله فى
حاجبك
وقد كانوا حدثوا انه يخلع عليه سوادا ثم انصرف فلما صار الى الدار
نزع الثياب عنه ثم جعل يبكى ثم قال قد سلمت من هولاء منذ

ستين سنة حتى اذا كان في آخر عمرى بليت بهم ما احسبني*
سلمت من دخولي على هذا الغلام فكيف بمن يجب على نضحه
من وقت تقع عيني عليه الى ان اخرج من عنده ثم قل يا صالح
وجه بهذه الثياب الى بغداد تباع ويتصدق بثمنها ولا يشتري احد
منكم شيئا قل ابو الفضل فوجهت بها الى يعقوب بن البختمان فباعها
وشرى ثمنها وبقيت عندي القلنسوة ثم اخبرناه ان الدار التي هو
فيها كانت لايتاج ثقالا اكتب رقة الى محمد بن الجراح ليستعفى
في من هذه الدار فكتبنا رقة فامر المتوكل ان يعفا منها وجهه الى
قوم ليخرجوا من منازلهم فسال ان يعفا من ذلك فاكثرت له دار
عاتق درم فصار اليها وأجرى لنا مائدة وثلج وضرب الخيش وفرش
الطبرى فلما رأى الخيش والطبرى نحى نفسه عن ذلك الموضع
والقى نفسه على مضربة له
..... وجعل يواصل يفطر كل ثلاث على ثمن سريق
فمكث خمس عشرة يفطر في كل ثلاث ثم جعل بعد ذلك يفطر
ليلة ليلة لا يفطر الا على رغيف فكان اذا جىء بالمائدة توضع في
اندھليز لكى لا يراها فياكل من حضر فكان اذا جهده للحر تبذل له
خارقة فيضعها على صدره وفى كل يوم يوجه اليه بابن
ماسوية فينظر اليه ويقول يا ابا عبد الله انما اميل اليك
والى اصحابك وما بك علة الا الضعف وقلة الرزق فقال له
ابن ماسوية انا ربما امرنا عبادنا باكل دهن لخل [Cod. اللؤلؤ] فانه يلين
وجعل يجيئه بالشيء ليشربه فيصبه وقلع له يحيى دراعة وطيلسانا
سوادا
..... وكان ربما صار اليه يحيى وهو يصلى فيجلس في الدھليز

حتى يفرغ رجلي على من لجأ فيترع سيفه ويقتسوته ويدخل عليه
 ولهم التوكيد ان تُشْتَرَى [تُشْتَرَى Cod] لنا دار فقال يا صلح قلت
 لبيك قال لمن قهرت ثم بشرى فقل تكونن تقضيعة بيني وبينكم
 انما يربحن ان يضييها هذا البلد في ملو وسكننا فلم يزل يدفع
 شوي الدار حتى تدفع حصار ثي صاحب لتزول فقال اعطيك كل
 شهر ثلاثة لاني مكلن المسعدة قلت لا تفعل وجعلت رُحل للتوكل
 ثاليه يسئلونه عن خبره فينصرفون [قيصرون Cod] اليه ويقولون هو
 ضعيف وفي خلال ذلك يقولون يا عبد الله لا بد له من ان يرك
 فسكت فلما خرجوا قال الا تعجب من قولهم لا بد له من ان يرك
 وما علمنا انه لا بد له من ان يركي وكان في هذه نار حجارة صغيرة
 [الصغيرة Cod] فيها بيتان فقال لي اخلوني تلك الحجرة ولا تسرجوا
 لي سراجا فدخلناه اليها فجاءه يعقوب فقال يا عبد الله امير المؤمنين
 مشتاق اليك وبالحق * انظر اليوم الذي تصير الي فيه اي يوم هو
 حتى اهرقه للال ذاك اليكم فقال يوم الاربعاء يوم خل وخرج يعقوب
 فلما كان من الغد جاء فقال البشري يا عبد الله امير المؤمنين يقرأ
 عليك السلام وبالحق قد اعفيتك عن لبس السود والركوب الى والى
 ولا العهد والى الدار فلن شئت فلبس القطن وان شئت فلبس
 المصوف فاجعل محمد الله على ذلك
 قال لي اعطى الله عهدا ان
 العهد، فلن مشرؤا [Mor. 17. 26] وقد قال الله تعالى يَلِيهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
 لَوْ كُنَّا بِمَا عَمِلُوا فَكَانَ الْعَذَابُ أَشَدَّ لَكَ لِي لَا أَتُكَلِّمُكَ حَدِيثًا تَمَلُّهُ أَبَدًا حَتَّى الْقِي
 َامَةِ وَلَا تُسَدِّدُنِي مِنْكُمْ أَحَدًا وَخَرَجْنَا وَجَّهًا عَلَى بَنِي لَاجِمٍ قَلْنَا لَهُ
 ١. ٤. ٥. ٦. ٧. ٨. ٩. ١٠. ١١. ١٢. ١٣. ١٤. ١٥. ١٦. ١٧. ١٨. ١٩. ٢٠. ٢١. ٢٢. ٢٣. ٢٤. ٢٥. ٢٦. ٢٧. ٢٨. ٢٩. ٣٠. ٣١. ٣٢. ٣٣. ٣٤. ٣٥. ٣٦. ٣٧. ٣٨. ٣٩. ٤٠. ٤١. ٤٢. ٤٣. ٤٤. ٤٥. ٤٦. ٤٧. ٤٨. ٤٩. ٥٠. ٥١. ٥٢. ٥٣. ٥٤. ٥٥. ٥٦. ٥٧. ٥٨. ٥٩. ٦٠. ٦١. ٦٢. ٦٣. ٦٤. ٦٥. ٦٦. ٦٧. ٦٨. ٦٩. ٧٠. ٧١. ٧٢. ٧٣. ٧٤. ٧٥. ٧٦. ٧٧. ٧٨. ٧٩. ٨٠. ٨١. ٨٢. ٨٣. ٨٤. ٨٥. ٨٦. ٨٧. ٨٨. ٨٩. ٩٠. ٩١. ٩٢. ٩٣. ٩٤. ٩٥. ٩٦. ٩٧. ٩٨. ٩٩. ١٠٠. ١٠١. ١٠٢. ١٠٣. ١٠٤. ١٠٥. ١٠٦. ١٠٧. ١٠٨. ١٠٩. ١١٠. ١١١. ١١٢. ١١٣. ١١٤. ١١٥. ١١٦. ١١٧. ١١٨. ١١٩. ١٢٠. ١٢١. ١٢٢. ١٢٣. ١٢٤. ١٢٥. ١٢٦. ١٢٧. ١٢٨. ١٢٩. ١٣٠. ١٣١. ١٣٢. ١٣٣. ١٣٤. ١٣٥. ١٣٦. ١٣٧. ١٣٨. ١٣٩. ١٤٠. ١٤١. ١٤٢. ١٤٣. ١٤٤. ١٤٥. ١٤٦. ١٤٧. ١٤٨. ١٤٩. ١٥٠. ١٥١. ١٥٢. ١٥٣. ١٥٤. ١٥٥. ١٥٦. ١٥٧. ١٥٨. ١٥٩. ١٦٠. ١٦١. ١٦٢. ١٦٣. ١٦٤. ١٦٥. ١٦٦. ١٦٧. ١٦٨. ١٦٩. ١٧٠. ١٧١. ١٧٢. ١٧٣. ١٧٤. ١٧٥. ١٧٦. ١٧٧. ١٧٨. ١٧٩. ١٨٠. ١٨١. ١٨٢. ١٨٣. ١٨٤. ١٨٥. ١٨٦. ١٨٧. ١٨٨. ١٨٩. ١٩٠. ١٩١. ١٩٢. ١٩٣. ١٩٤. ١٩٥. ١٩٦. ١٩٧. ١٩٨. ١٩٩. ٢٠٠. ٢٠١. ٢٠٢. ٢٠٣. ٢٠٤. ٢٠٥. ٢٠٦. ٢٠٧. ٢٠٨. ٢٠٩. ٢١٠. ٢١١. ٢١٢. ٢١٣. ٢١٤. ٢١٥. ٢١٦. ٢١٧. ٢١٨. ٢١٩. ٢٢٠. ٢٢١. ٢٢٢. 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ان أُحْدِثَ فيكم هذا البلدُ حَبْسَى وانما كن سَبَبُ الذين اقاموا
 بهذا البلد لَمَّا أُعْطُوا وَأُمِرُوا فَاحْذَرُوا وكانوا يدخلون عليه فيتكلّمون
 وهو مُغْمَضُ العينِ يتعلّلُ وَضَعُفَ ضَعْفًا شَدِيدًا فَقُلُوا يخبرونه فيتوجّع
 لذلك. وجعل يقول والله لقد تمنيت الموت في الامر الذي كان واني
 لاتمى الموت في هذا وذاك ان هذا فتنة الدنيا وكان ذلك فتنة
 الدين ثم جعل يَضُمُ اصابع يده ويقول لو كانت نفسي في يدى
 لارسلتها ثم يفتتح اصابعه وكان المتوكل يُوجه اليه في كل وقت يَسْطَلُه
 عن حاله وكان في خلال ذلك يومر لنا بالمال فيقول يوصل اليهم ولا
 يَعْلَمُ شيخهم فيغتم ما يُريد منهم ان كان هؤلاء يريدون [يريد Cod.]
 الدنيا فما يمنعم وقالوا للمتوكل انه كان لا يأكل من ضعمك ولا يجلس
 على فراشه ويحرم الذي تشرب فقال لهم لو نُشِرَ المعتصم لم اقبل منه
 قال ابو الفضل ثم اني اتحدّرت الى بغداد وخلفتُ عبد الله عنده
 فلما عبد الله قد قدم وجّاهُ بشيائى التي كانت عنده فقلت ما جاء
 بك قال قال لي أُحْدِثُ وقل لصالح لا مخرج [يخرج Cod.] فانتم كنتم
 آتيتى والله لو استقبلت من امرى ما استدبرتُ ما اخرجت واحدا
 منكم معى لولا مكانكم لِمَن كان توضع هذه المائدة ولمن كان
 يُغْرَسُ هذا الغرس ويجرى الاجراء قال ابو الفضل فكتبتُ اليه اعلمه
 ما قل لي عبد الله فكتبَ الى بخطه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم احسن
 الله عاقبتك ودفع عنك كل مَكْرَوهٍ ومَحْذُورٍ الذى حملنى على الكتاب
 اليك والذى [لذى Cod.] قلت لعبد الله لا ياتينى احد منكم
 رجاء ان ينقطع ذكرى ويحمل فانكم اذا كنتم هاهنا فشا ذكرى وكان
 يجتمع اليك قوم ينقلون اخبارنا ولم يَكُنْ الا خيرا واعلم بابنى انك
 ان اقمّت [اقتت Cod.] فلا تاتينى انت ولا اخوك فهو رضى فلا

تجعل في نفسك الا خيرا والسلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركاته، قل
 ابو الفضل ثم ورد الى كتاب آخر بخطه يذكر فيه بسم الله الرحمن
 الرحيم احسن الله عقبتك [عاقبتك Cod.] ودفع عنك السوء برحمته كتابي
 اليك وانا في نعم الله متطاعرة واسفله اتمامها والعون
 على أداء شكرها قد انفكت عنا عقد انما كن خبس من
 هاهنا لما أعطوا فقبلوا وأجرى عليهم فصاروا في الحَد الذي صاروا
 اليه وحدثوا ودخلوا عليهم فهذه كانت قيودهم فتسقل الله ان يُعيدنا
 من شرهم ويخلصنا فقد كان ينبغي لكم لو قد قديتموني باموالكم
 واحاليكم لهان ذلك عليكم للذي انا فيه فلا يكبر عليكم ما اكتب به
 اليكم فالزموا بيوتكم فلعل الله ان يخلصني والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله
 ثم ورد غير كتاب السى بخطه بنحو من هذا فلما خرجنا من
 العسكر رفعت المائدة والفرش وكل ما اقيم لنا قل ابو الفضل واوصى
 وصية بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا ما اوصى به احمد بن حنبل
 اوصى انه يشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له وان محمدا
 عبده ورسوله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله
 ولو كره المشركون [Kor. 9. 33; 61. 9] واوصى من اطاعه من اهله
 وقربائه ان يعبدوا الله في العابدات ويحمدوه في الحامدين وان
 ينصحوهم لجماعة المسلمين واوصى انى قد رضيت بالله ربا وبلاسلام
 ديننا وبمحمد صلى الله عليه وسلم نبيا واوصى ان نعبد الله بن
 محمد المعروف ببران على نحوا من خمسين دينارا وهو مصدق
 فيما قل فيقضى ما له على من غلة الدار ان شاء الله فلما استوفى
 أعطى ولد صالح وعبد الله ابني [ابن Cod.] احمد بن حنبل كل

First Invitation to Visit al-Mutawakkil An invitation from the Khalif to Aḥmed to visit him was brought to him before the end of the year 235 A. H. by Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm¹⁾, who on this occasion asked Aḥmed's forgiveness for the part which he had taken in the scourging under al-Muṭaṣim. Aḥmed, in reply, assured him that he had fully forgiven all who had sought his hurt, or participated, in any way, on that occasion. Ishāk then proceeded to ask *and Conversation with Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm on the Subject of the Korān.* Aḥmed for his own private satisfaction about the Korān, and the latter expressed himself, as he uniformly did, to the effect that it was the uncreated Word of God. Ishāk then asked for the proofs of the statement, and Aḥmed, in answer, cited Korān 7. 52, 'Are not the Creation and the Command his?' and pointed out that in the passage a distinction was made between the Creation and the Command. The 'Command' الامر, in controversies of this kind refers to the eternal and heavenly Word of God, just as does 'Kun', on page 119. Ishāk said, 'The Command is created'. 'What!' exclaimed Aḥmed, 'the Command created! Nay, it creates that which is created'. Ishāk then asked, 'Who has handed down in Tradition the view that it is not created'? Aḥmed answered, "Ja'far ibn Moḥammed, who said, 'It is neither a creator nor a created thing'²⁾". Then, this conversation being ended and Ishāk having secured Aḥmed's agreement to go to the camp, it was not long before he was on the way thither; but, for some unexplained cause, orders came while the

ذكر واثني عشرة ذراعاً بعد وفاء مال أبي محمد شهيد أبو يوسف
وصالح وعبد الله ابنا أحمد بن محمد بن حنبل،

1) Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm, the governor of 'Irāq, as well as Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm al-Mausill, the favorite of the Khalifs, died in 235 A. H. The one referred to in the text is, of course, the former.

2) This appears to be not only an authentic tradition, but, as well, the clearest and most direct which was offered by the orthodox in support of their view.

journey was in progress for him to be returned to his home. It is altogether likely that a suspicion of 'Alyite leanings in Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal afford an explanation of this fact. As will presently appear, Aḥmed was two or three times accused of such leanings to this Khalif.

Aḥmed Ac- In the year 237 A. H., information was given to
cused of the Khalif charging Aḥmed with having sent one
'Alyite In- of his companions to meet an 'Alyite who was
trigues. coming to him from Khorasān. On hearing this, the Khalif wrote a letter to Abdallah ibn Ishāk, governor of Baghdād, (who had succeeded his brother Moḥammed and his father Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm in the office) asking him to inquire of Aḥmed as to the truth of the charge laid against him, and, also, to search his premises and make sure in the matter. In pursuance of these directions, Abdallah sent his chamberlain Muẓaffar and the postmaster Ibn al-Kalbī ¹⁾, together with women who were to examine the women's apartments, to carry out the orders which had come to hand. When they were come and had read to Aḥmed the Khalif's letter, he protested that the report was without foundation, and that he was in all respects a loyal subject ²⁾. The searching of the premises, too, revealed nothing to substantiate the charge against him.

The result was reported to the Khalif, and a day or two later, there came a letter from 'Alī ibn al-Jahm ³⁾ to Aḥmed saying that the Khalif was fully satisfied of the groundlessness of the report, and that it had been fabricated by heretics with the design of injuring him. The letter of 'Alī intimated, likewise, the Khalif's wish that Aḥmed should

1) For employment of postmasters in this sort of detective service vid. Houtsma, 71.

2) Aḥmed had been keeping to his house up to this time, following the orders of Ishāk the former governor. On theologians keeping to their houses cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 94. On the similar practice by the so-called *Ḳa'ada* (still-sitters) cf. Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc., 26 f.

3) 'Alī ibn al-Jahm banished to Khorasān and killed there by al-Mutawakkil's directions, 239 A. H., vid. Ibn Chall. N°. 473; Abu'l-Mah. I, 730; Abu'l-Feda Ann. II, 190.

Second Invitation from al-Mutawakkil. visit him, and advised that a messenger was on the way with a gift of money from the Khalif. The day following the arrival of the letter the messenger, Ya'kûb Kausarra, arrived bringing, in official form, the invitation already alluded to, and handing over the sum of 10,000 dirhems as the royal gift (جائزة). Ya'kûb then went away, telling Aḥmed that he would return next morning for an answer to his message. That night was a sleepless one for Aḥmed. The gift of al-Mutawakkil, which he had given into the charge of Ṣāliḥ his son, troubled him greatly. Finally, he made up his mind to be rid of the money altogether, and, rising betimes in the morning, he summoned persons whom he ordered to take portions to the descendants of the Muhajirûn and Anṣâr and to the general poor, until the whole sum received had been paid out. It was a great grief to him that now at the end of his life, after he had successfully resisted anything of the kind for so long a time, he was to be forced to be a compromised pensioner on the bounty of the Khalif, a relationship which he with all his might sought to avoid, and from which after this he succeeded in keeping himself almost entirely free to the very end of his days. When word came to the Khalif of Aḥmed's action, 'Alī ibn al-Jahm prevented his master's displeasure by the explanation that such a man as Aḥmed had no need of money, for his living consisted but of a crust of bread.

In a short time, Aḥmed was on his way to the Khalif. Of the journey nothing of special interest is recorded, save that he availed himself of the legal prōvision that the prayers might be shortened while travelling, and that he, interpreting the provision as positive and not merely permissive, on one occasion complained that Ṣāliḥ his son had made the prayers too long. Arrived at the camp, he was first lodged in the house of Ītakh¹⁾, and word was sent to his sons from the Court that an allowance of 10,000 dirhems had been appointed

1) v. p. 144, note 2.

to be given them. in place of the money which had been given away by their father. It was, at the same time, specially ordered that their father should not be told of the matter. Al-Mutawakkil now sent his greeting to Ahmed, and congratulated him on his escape from the attempts of his enemies to involve him in suspicions. If we may believe the record, and we probably may, al-Mutawakkil also expressed his pleasure at Ahmed's presence, as he wished to consult him in the matter of Ibn Abi Dowād, who had just fallen into disgrace¹⁾. Very soon a wish of the Khalif was made known to Ahmed that he should remain with him to teach Tradition and give up the idea of returning to Baghdad. Especially did the Khalif desire him to undertake the teaching of al-Mu'tazz, his favorite son²⁾. From all this Ahmed tried to excuse himself on the ground of physical infirmity, pointing to his loose teeth and other evidences of age and weakness. He declared his belief to be that the invitation and entertainment were, together, parts of a conspiracy to keep him in restraint — to make him a prisoner while yet the guest of his Sovereign. And he vowed a vow that he would never as long as he lived tell another complete tradition. Some say that this vow extended over the last eight years of his life; but if he came to the Khalif in 237 A. H., and took upon him the vow in order to escape detention where he was, the duration of its blinding force was a little over four years. It may be that the vow was taken when al-Wāthik requested him to leave Baghdad, for we know that he ceased to teach during the latter months of that Khalif's reign; still, as a matter of fact, we have in this case more than eight years, and, on the whole, it seems desirable to date his final cessation of teaching from the time of this visit to al-Mutawakkil, when he was 73 years of age and, as we really know, a man much weakened in his physical constitution.

1) vid. note 2, p. 56.

2) al-Sajād, Tarikh al-Khol. 357.

The Interest of al-Mutawakkil It appears to have been some time before Ahmed was summoned to the Palace; but, in the meantime, the Khalif shewed a friendly interest in him and evinced a respect for his learning by submitting to him questions for his judgment upon them. One of these was the following: Supposing two animals to be fighting with their horns, and the one mortally wound the other; may the wounded animal if slaughtered be used for food? Ahmed's answer was that, if the animal shewed signs of life by moving its eyelids and by switching its tail, and if its blood was still flowing and not congealed, it might be slaughtered and eaten.

His Visit to the Palace. At last, he was ordered to appear in the presence of the Khalif's son al-Mu'tazz. It was a sore affliction to Ahmed when Yahya ibn Khaḡān came to fit on him the Court costume, but he was induced to allow it to be put upon him, though put it on himself he would not. On this occasion, Yahya ibn Khaḡān told the sons of Ahmed that a stipend of 4000 dirhems per month had been ordered to be paid to them, but that their father was not to know of it. On arriving at the Palace, Ahmed was well received, though there is but a very scant notice of the audience. After his return to his lodgings from this first visit to his new protégé, he felt badly over the sin he thought he had committed in wearing the fine clothes he had been obliged to put on; and, at once removing them, he ordered his son Ṣāliḡ to send them to Baghdād, where they were to be sold and their price given to the poor. His own family he forbade to reserve any of the garments for their personal use; but, notwithstanding, Ṣāliḡ kept the bonnet. Ahmed's peace of mind was much disturbed at this time, also, over his prospective visits to the Sovereign himself, and the charge he should have as tutor to the Khalif's son; for it seems that al-Mutawakkil did not, at first, take into consideration the vow which Ahmed had taken not to tell Tradition perfectly.

It is not likely that he really appeared before al-Mutawakkil at all; at least, we have nothing to shew that he

did, nor have we any evidence that he actually had the charge of the Khalif's son. Al-Mu'tazz, at the time of Aḥmed's arrival at Surramanra, was not more than six years of age, if as old as that ¹⁾).

Asks a Aḥmed's next grievance arose when he learned *Change of* that the house in which he was lodged had be- *Residence* longed to Itākh ²⁾). On hearing this, he had a letter written to Moḥammed ibn al-Jarrāḥ, seeking that al-Mutawakkil would release him from the obligation to remain there. The Khalif granted this request; and then sought to engage another home for him, by asking some people to move out of the house which they were occupying. This Aḥmed did not wish and it was given up. Finally, a suitable *and is Offended* place was hired for him at a rent of 200 dirhems. *at the Luxurious* Here he was grieved at the luxury with which *Provision Made* the house was furnished, and, leaving the *for Him.* finely furnished apartments, contented himself with a humble mattress which he had brought with him. The bountiful table which was placed at his disposal was, likewise, a great offence to him; a fact which we can readily believe, when we are informed that the landlord of the house offered Ṣāliḥ ibn Aḥmed a sum of 3000 dirhems a month for it, and was refused. Those of his family who were desirous of retaining the table were obliged to have it set *Fasting and* down in the vestibule of the house, where he *Sickness.* might not see it. He himself fasted most of the time, partaking only of a little sawiḵ and bread, until, at last, he was taken sick and the well-known physician Ibn Ma-sūyah had to be sent to prescribe for him. He examined Aḥmed, assured him that his trouble was not really a disease, but simply weakness and wasting of the body from lack of nourishment, and prescribed for him sesame oil, which he declared that he, as a Christian, was accustomed to give to the ascetics of his own faith when they had brought

1) He was born 232 A. H., Abu'l-Maḥ. II, 24.

2) Itākh the Turk killed 234 A. H., Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 702.

themselves to a similar condition. Aḥmed at this time seems to have received every attention at the hands of al-Mutawakkil and those about him; though, it does not surprise us to find him sometimes refusing kindnesses which were proffered.

Consulted about Ibn Abi Dowād. At different times, attempts were made to draw from Aḥmed an expression of opinion regarding Aḥmed ibn Abi Dowād his former persecutor, who had now fallen from favor. But neither about the man, nor about his estates and their disposition would he express himself at all. Nor was he any more willing to hear reports of the public gossip about his old adversary and the course of action which had been adopted towards him ¹⁾.

Proposal to Buy a House for Him. After a time al-Mutawakkil proposed that he should buy a house for Aḥmed, but the latter obstinately refused his consent to the proposal, and ordered his son Ṣāliḥ to be no party to such a project. In the end the idea was given up.

Aḥmed again Urged to Attend on the Khalif The Khalif now began to urge that Aḥmed should attend continuously on him, as had been his intention in bringing him from Baghdad. The day that he should begin had actually been agreed upon. Aḥmed, however, never concealed from anyone how extremely distasteful to him the obligation was. His uncle Ishāk ibn Ḥanbal also urged him to go in to the Khalif and offer him direction and cited the example of Ishāk ibn Rāhawaih, who had done this with Ibn Ṭāhir (with advantage to himself). Aḥmed replied that he did not approve of Ibn Rāhawaih or his course, and that in his conviction to be near persons in authority or to keep company with them was to imperil faith and violate conscience. Even as it was, he did not feel himself safe from guilt. After *but is* all this a message came from the Khalif releasing *Released.* him from all obligation to appear before either himself or his successors, and from the wearing of the black

1) vid. note 2, p. 56; Abu'l-Maḥ. I, 719.

Court costume. He might wear cotton or wool just as pleased him. It appears, in fact, to have been a general dispensation from fulfilling any requests from persons in authority which might be distasteful to him ¹⁾. Now, at last, he was released from his fear that they were going to make of him an attaché of the Court, and on this point had ease of mind. For his fellow-traditionists who remained at Court his feeling appears to have been one of censuring contempt. They were afraid to do that which would deprive them of their stipends from the Khalif, and, possibly, bring upon them much worse consequences. Ahmed had accomplished his end in securing his exemption from attendance at Court; not, however, by a direct refusal of the Khalif's mandate, but by persistent excuses; by shewing a dislike to what he was expected to do; and by his discontent with the general arrangements which were made for him by al-Mutawakkil's orders. He obstructed as far as possible the royal wishes, but did not deny them.

Correspondence with his Sons. His two sons, Şalih and Abdallah, now returned to Baghdâd, and, after they had gone away, the fine furnishings of the house were removed, and the Khalif's daily provision ceased to be provided. By Abdallah, who left him later than his brother, he sent word to Şalih, telling him that both he and his brother were not desired to attend on him any further, for he regarded most of the

قال المروزي سمعت اسحق بن حنبل عم احمد ١) al-Makrizi, p. 10, وامن بالعسكر يناشده ويساله الدخول على الخليفة ليأمره وينهاه وقال انه يقلل كلامك هذا اسحق بن راحويه يدخل على ابن طاهر فيأمره وينهاه فقال له ابو عبد الله محتج على اسحق وأنا غير راض بفعله ما له في رويتي خير ولا لي في رويته خير يجب على الا رايته ان آمره وانهاه الدنو منهم فتنه والجلس معهم فتنه نحن متباعدين منهم ما ارانا نسلم فكيف لو قربنا منهم

unpleasant experiences through which he had passed as due to their not supporting him in the stand he had taken and their want of active sympathy with his principles. Their acceptance of the Khalif's fine provision, if they came back, would bring him only into ill-favor with the public; and their acceptance of the Khalif's stipend, against his known wish and sense of duty, he considered a grave breach of filial piety. They both might go where they would with his prayers following them, but he desired that they should not cumber him further by their presence. Such was the tenor of his first two letters to his son Šālih. In a third he reproaches his sons for not taking steps to secure his release from his unwilling detention. But he advises them to keep to their dwellings¹⁾, and expresses the hope that God, by some means will open up his way.

Aḥmed's Testament. While at the camp, Aḥmed made his testament, which was as follows: In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. This is the testament of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. He testifies that there is no God but Allah, alone and without fellow, and that Moḥammed is his Servant and his Messenger whom He sent with the right guidance and the true religion, that he might make it known as the perfect religion, though the idolaters be displeased. He, further, testifies that those who obey his family and his relatives worship God among those who worship, praise him among those who offer praise and do good service to the Community of the Muslims. I, also, testify that I am satisfied with Allah as Lord, with Islām as a religion, and with Moḥammed as Prophet. I, further, testify that Abdallah ibn Moḥammed, known as Bûrân, has a claim against me for about fifty dinârs, and that he is to be credited in whatever he may say. Let what is due to him be paid from the rent of the house, if God will, and after he has been paid, the children of Šālih and Abdallah, sons of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, are to receive, each male and female, ten dirhems,

1) p. 140, note 2.

after the payment of the money to Abû Moḥammed. Witnessed by Abû Yûsuf and Şâlih and Abdallah the two sons of Aḥmed ibn Moḥammed ibn Ḥanbal.

Permission It was not a great while before Aḥmed again *Granted to Re-* requested a change of residence ¹⁾, and the *turn to Baghdad.* Khalif, with great kindness, acceded to his request and, not only allowed him to engage another dwelling, but sent to him one thousand dinars that he might

1) Abû Nu'aim, 1534, (The narrative now follows this source for a time.)

قال ابو الفضل ثم سال ابي رحمه الله ان يحول من الدار التي اكرتني
له فاكبري هو دارا وتحول اليها فسال المتوكل عنه فقيل انه عليل فقال
كنت احب ان يكون في قري فقد اننت له يا عبید الله اجعل اليه
الف دينار يقسمها وقال لسعيد تهنيء له خراقة ينحدر فيها فجاؤه
على بن الجهم في جوف الليل فاخبره ثم جاء عبید الله ومعه الف
دينار فقال ان امير المؤمنين قد امن لك وقد امر لك بهذه الالف
دينار فقال قد اعفاني امير المؤمنين مما اكره فرددتها وقال انا رقيق
على البرد [so Cod.] والظهر ارفق بي فكتب له جواز فكتب الى
محمد بن عبد الله في بصرى وتعاهده فقدم علينا فيما بين الظهر
والعصر فلما اتحدروا الى بغداد ومكث قليلا قال لي يا صالح قلت
لبيك قل احب ان قلح [تدخ. Cod.] هذا اتريزى فلا تاخذنه ولا توكل
فيه احدا فقد علمت انكم انما تاخذونه بسببي فسكت فقال
ما لك فقلت اكره ان اعطيك شيئا بلساني واخالف الى غيره فاكبر قد
كذبتك وثاقتك وليس في القوم اكثر عيلا مني ولا اهدر وقد كنت
اشكو اليك فتقبل امرك منعقد بامري ولعل الله ان تجعل عني عن [del.?
هذه العقدة ثم قلت له وقد كنت تدعو لي فارجو ان يكون الله
استجاب لك قل ولا تفعل قلت لا فقال قم فعل الله بك وفعل

distribute it in alms. At the same time, he gave him leave to return home and ordered a pleasure barge to be

فمر بسد الباب بينى وبينه فقتل الله فساكنى فاحبته فقال ما
قولنا قلت لك اليك فقال له مثل ما قل لي فقال لا اعمل فكان منه
اليه نحو ما كان منه الى فلقينا عنه فقال لو اردتم ان تقولوا له
وما علمه اننا اخذتم شيئا فدخل عليه فقال يابا عبد الله لست اخذ
شيئا من هذا فقال الحمد لله وقبحنا وسد الابواب بيننا وبينه ومحامى
منزلنا ان يدخل منها الى منزله شىء

قال ابو الفضل فلما مضى نحو من شهرين كتب لنا بشىء فاجىء
به الينا فلان من جاءه معه فاخذ فاحبر فاجاء الى الباب الذى كان
سده بينى وبينه وقد فتح الصبيان كوة فقال ابعو لي صالحا فاجاء
الرسول وقلت له قل له لست اجىء فوجه الى ليم قال [قلت] لا
تجىء فقلت قل له هذا الرزق تترقبه جملة كثيرة وانما انا واحد
منهم وليس فيهم اعذر منى والا كان توزيع خصصت به الا فلما تانى
عنه بالان خرج فلما خرج قيل لي انه قد خرج الى المسجد
فجئت حتى صرت في موضع اسمع فيه كلامه فلما فرغ من الصلاة
التفت الى عمه ثم قال له نالقتنى وكذبتنى وكان غيرك اعذر منك
وهت انك لا تأخذ من هذا شيئا ثم اخذته وانت تستغل مايتى
درهم وهدت الى طريق المسلمين تستغله انما اشفق عليك ان تطرق
يوم القيامة سبع ارضين اخذت هذا الشىء بغير حقه فقال قد
تصدق فقال تصدقت بنصف درهم ثم هجره وترك الصلاة في المسجد
The account of his difficulties with the members of his family over the Khalif's allowances is in the Ms. considerably extended, but the rest of it has no special interest, and varies but slightly from the extract here given.

made ready to take him to Baghdād; this last favor however, Aḥmed declined, preferring to travel by land on account of risk to his health from the coldness of the river journey. When he left for home, al-Mutawakkil had a letter written to Moḥammed ibn Abdallah, the governor of Baghdād, ordering him to deal kindly with Aḥmed and take good care of him.

Objects to his Family Receiving the story of Aḥmed's life is little more than *Stipends.* a record of his differences with his family —

in particular, with his sons Ṣāliḥ and Abdallah, and his paternal uncle Ishāk ibn Ḥanbal, — about the receiving of the Khalif's stipends and gifts which came to them from time to time. He would block up the doorways between his sons' houses and his own, when they expressed determination to accept the moneys, which they needed for the support of their families, and vigorously dissented from his view that their position was the same as his own, and that what was good for him was, likewise, good for them. For as long as two or three months together he would have nothing to do with his sons; and it was, apparently, only as their children in playing made their way into their grandfather's house and touched a more sympathetic chord of his nature, or as the offices of his good friend Bûrân (Abdallah ibn Moḥammed) were called in that reconciliation was brought about. His uncle Ishāk certainly played no worthy part toward him. He pretended great friendship and complete deference to his wishes as to the receiving of money, and at the same time accepted it with the rest. When Aḥmed discovered the dissimulation, he was very angry; and it was all to no purpose that Ishāk tried to excuse himself on the ground that he had used the money in giving alms, for he knew, and Aḥmed knew, that he had not done so. Aḥmed then ceased to worship in the mosque where his sons and uncle worshipped, and for the necessary prayers went to a mosque outside the city quarter in which he lived.

Harassed as they were by him, the members of Aḥmed's

family agreed once or twice to receive no more money; but, after a period of abstinence, the urgent needs of their families forced them to give up the self-denial and again claim their stipends. At last, Aḥmed went so far as to write to Yaḥya ibn Khakān, telling him that he had made up his mind to request the withdrawal of the regular aid which was granted to his family. Ṣāliḥ anticipated his father, however, by informing the officer who was over that part of Baghdād in which they resided, and he succeeded in preventing Aḥmed's letter from accomplishing its object. The aid was continued and, not only that, but all that was due to the family, 40,000 dirhems, being the undrawn stipend for ten months, was paid over to his sons. And, though the Khalif had ordered his officers not to inform Aḥmed of the payment, Ṣāliḥ himself sent word of it to his father. The old man, when he heard the message, exclaimed after a meditative silence, 'What can I do when I desire one thing and God orders another!'

قال أبو الفضل ثم كتب إلى رحمه الله أبي يحيى، ١٥٣هـ،
 ابن خاقان يسأله ويَعِزُّم عليه أن لا يعيننا على شيء من أراقنا
 ولا يتكلم فيها فبلغني فوجهت إلى القيم لنا وهو أبو غالب بن بنت
 معاوية بن عمرو وقد كنت قلت له يا أبا عبد الله يكبر عليك وقد عزمت
 إذا حدث أمر أخبرتك به فلما وصل رسوله بالكتاب إلى يحيى أخذه
 صاحب الخبر فأخذ نسخه ووصلت إلى المتوكل فقال لعبيد الله كم
 من شهر لولد أحمد بن حنبل فقال عشرة أشهر قل يُحْمَل اليوم الساعة
 أربعون ألف درهم من بيت المال صحاح ولا يُعلم هو بها قل فقال
 يحيى للقيم أنا أكتب إلى صالح وأعلمه فورد على كتابه فوجهت
 إلى أبي أعلمه فقال الذي أخبره أنه سكت قليلا وضرب بدقته
 [بدقته Cod.] ساعة ثم رفع رأسه فقال ما حيلتي إذا أردت أمرا

*Again Suspect-
ed of 'Alyite
Intrigues.*

After Aḥmed's return to Baghdād (the date of which we do not know) some talebearer reported to al-Mutawakkil the old slander that Aḥmed was harboring an 'Alyite. The Khalif sent word to Aḥmed of the report, and told him that he had imprisoned the man who made it until he should advise him as to what truth there was in the report, and direct him what to do to the man. Aḥmed answered asserting his ignorance of the whole matter, but advised that the man should be set free, as to visit him with death might bring affliction to many others who were no sharers in his crime.

A man whose name is given as Abû Ja'far ibn Dhariḥ al-'Ukbari relates that, in the year 236, (which appears to be a mistake, for the circumstances point to the time of the second accusation of harboring an 'Alyite, and this was after Aḥmed's return to Baghdād from his visit to the camp in 237 A. H.) he sought Aḥmed to ask him some doctrinal question, but was told at his house that he had gone outside that quarter of the city to prayers. So Abû Ja'far sat down at the gate of the street to wait for his return. Presently, an old man, tall, with dyed hair and beard, and of a dark brown complexion, came up and entered the street, the visitor entering with him. At the end of the street, Aḥmed, for such it was, opened a gate and entered it, closing it after him and at the same time bidding his companion go his way. Just then, the latter noticed at the gate a mosque, in which an old man, also with dyed hair, was leading the prayers. When he had finished, Abû Ja'far asked a man who was at the prayers about Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and why he had refused to answer him. The man re-

واراد الله امراء قال ابو الفضل وجاء رسول المتوكل الى ابي يعقوب لو سلم
احد من الناس سلمت رفع رجل لي في وقت كذا ان عليا قدم
من خراسان واتك وجهت اليه بمن يلقاه وقد حبست لرجل وارادت
مهرته وكرهت ان تغتم فمر فيه فقال هذا باطل ويخلي سبيله

plied that Ahmed had been suspected of harboring an 'Alyite; that, on this account, the prefect of police had surrounded his dwelling with a cordon of police and then had proceeded to search it. For this reason he avoided speaking to people. The police had, however, found nothing to give substance to the suspicion which had been raised. Abû Ja'far, then, enquired who it was whom he had seen leading the prayers, and, on learning that it was Ahmed's uncle Ishâk, he asked why Ahmed ibn Hanbal did not pray behind his uncle in this mosque which was near his own door. The man answered that he did not worship with his uncle, nor even his own sons, nor speak with any of them, because they had accepted the stipends and gifts of the Khalif¹).

حدثنا أبو بكر أحمد بن جعفر بن مالك ثنا¹ Abû Nu'aim, 142 s, أبو جعفر بن نزيح العكبري قال طلبت أحمد بن حنبل في سنة ست وثلاثين لاسئلة عن مسئلة فسالته عنه فقالوا خرج يصلى خارجا فجلست له على باب الدرب [الدرب so marg.; text] حتى جئت فسلمت عليه فرد علي السلام وكان شيخا مختصرا طويلا اسمر شديد السمر فدخل الزقاق وانا معه اماشييه خطبة بخطوة فلما بلغنا آخر الدرب انا باب يفرج دفعه وصار خلفه وقال انقرب عليك الله فثنيت عليه فقال انقرب عليك الله قال فالتفت فلما مسجت على الباب وشيخ مختصرب قائم يصلى بالناس فجلست حتى سلم الامام فخرج رجل فسالته عن احمد بن حنبل وعن تخلفه عن كلامي فقال اتبعني عليه عند السلطان ان عنده عليا فاجه محمد بن نصر فاحاط بالمحلة ففتشت فلم يوجد فيها شيء مما ذكر فلتجيم من كلام العامة فقلت هذا الشيخ من هو قال عمه اسعاني قلت فما له لا يصلى خلفه قال ليس يكلمنا ولا بنييه لانهم اخذوا جاذرة السلطان،

Al-Mutawakkil never ceased to shew his interest in Ahmed's welfare, and to make frequent inquiries about him. This was, for some reason which is hard to divine, most disagreeable to Ahmed; and he professed himself as preferring to die rather than have to live through such incessant attentions¹⁾. Among the evidences of the Khalif's interest was a letter written by 'Obaidallah ibn Yahya on his account, asking Ahmed to write him his views on the Koran, not by way of assurance of his accordance with the opinion of the Sovereign, but merely for the information of the Commander of the Faithful. In reply Ahmed dictated to his son a letter to 'Obaidallah, in which he said²⁾: —

1) Abû Nu'aim, 153 هـ، يبلغه السلام، قال وكان رسول المتوكل يأتي ابي يبعثه السلام، ويسأله عن حاله فنسأله نحن بذلك فيأخذ نفصة [تعضه Cod.] حتى نذكره [Cod. no polita] يقول والله لو ان نفسى فى يدى لارسلتها بغير اصابه ثم يفتكها

2) Abû Nu'aim, 153 هـ. حدثنا سليمان بن احمد ثنا عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل ج وحدثنا محمد وعلى والحسين قالوا ثنا محمد بن اسمعيل ثنا صالح بن احمد بن حنبل قال كتب عبيد الله بن يحيى الى ابي رحمه الله يخبره ان امير المؤمنين امرنى ان اكتب اليك اسالك عن امر القرآن لا مسئلة امتحان ولكن مسئلة معرفة وبصيرة فاملى على ابي رحمه الله الى عبيد الله بن يحيى وحلى ما معى احد بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم احسن الله عاقبتك ابا الحسن فى الامور كلها وادفع عنك مكاره الدنيا والاخرة برحمته قد كتبت اليك رضى الله عنك بالذى سأل هذه امور المؤمنين بامر القرآن بما حضرنى واني اسأل الله تعالى ان يديم توفيق امير المؤمنين فقد كان الناس فى خوض من المبادئ واختلاف شديد يهتمسون فيه حتى انقضت الخلافة الى

Ahmed's

I ask God to continue his aid to the Command-
 Letter in er of the Faithful, for men were in the depth of
 Reply. falsehood and immersed in violent differences of
 opinion until the Khalifate came to the Commander of the
 Faithful, and God banished by means of the Commander

امير المؤمنين فنفى الله بامير المؤمنين كل بدعة واجلى عن الناس ما
 كانوا فيه من الذل وضيق المجلس [المجلس Cod.] قصر الله ذلك
 كله وذهب به بامير المؤمنين وقع ذلك من المسلمين موقعا عظيما
 ودعوا الله لامير المؤمنين فاسئل الله ان يستجيب في امير المؤمنين
 صلاح الدعاء وان يتم ذلك لامير المؤمنين وان يزيد في نيته ويعينه
 على ما هو عليه فقد ذكر عن عبد الله بن عباس رضى الله عنه
 انه قال لا تضربوا كتاب الله بعضه ببعض فان ذلك يوقع الشك في
 قلوبكم وذكر عن عبد الله بن عمر [عمر Cod.] رضى الله عنه ان
 نقرأ كانوا جلوسا بباب النبی صلی الله عليه وسلم فقال بعضهم الم
 يقل الله كذا وقال بعضهم الم يقل الله كذا قال فسمع ذلك رسول
 الله صلی الله عليه وسلم فخرج كأنما فُقي في وجهه حب الرمان
 فقال افي هذا أمرتم ان تضربوا كتاب الله بعضه ببعض انما ضلّت
 الامم قبلکم في مثل هذا انکم لستم مما هاهنا في شيء انظروا الذي
 أمرتم به فاعملوا به وانظروا الذي نهيتهم عنه فلانتهوا عنه، وروى عن
 ابي هريرة رضى الله عنه [Cod omits] عن النبی صلی الله عليه وسلم
 انه قال مرآة في القرآن كفر وروى عن ابي جهيم رجل من اصحاب النبی
 صلی الله عليه وسلم عن النبی صلعم قال لا تماروا في القرآن فان مرآة
 فيه كفر، وقال عبد الله بن عباس رضى الله عنه قدم على عمر بن
 الخطاب رضى الله عنه رجل فجعل عمر يسأله عن الناس فقال يا امير
 المؤمنين قد قرأ القرآن منهم كذا وكذا فقال ابن عباس فقلت والله

of the Faithful every heresy, and took away from men the straitness and humiliation of the prisons. God has, thus, changed all that, and removed it through the Commander of the Faithful, [all of] which has made a great impression upon the Muslims; hence, they pray God to bless the Commander of the Faithful, and I ask God to hearken to all

ما أحب ان يتسارعوا يومهم هذا في القران هذه المسارعة كل فزبرنى
 عمر وقال مَه فأنطَلَقْتُ الى منزلي مُكْتَتِبًا حزينًا فبينما انا كذلك اذ
 [اذا Cod.] اتاني رجل فقال اجب امير المؤمنين فخرجت فلما هو بالباب
 ينتظرنى فاخذ بيدي فخلا نى وقال ما الذى كرهت مما قال الرجل
 آنفا فقلت يا امير المؤمنين متى يتسارعوا هذه المسارعة يختفوا ومتى
 ما يختفوا يَخْتَصِمُوا ومتى ما [لا Cod.] يَخْتَصِمُوا يختلغوا ومتى ما
 يختلغوا يقتتلوا قال لله ابوك والله ان كنت لاكتهما الناس حتى
 جئت بها، وروى عن جابر بن عبد الله رضى الله عنه قال كن
 النبى صلعم يعرض نفسه على الناس بالوقوف فيقول هل من رجل
 يحملنى الى قومه فان قريشا قد منعونى ان ابلغ كلام رضى، وروى عن
 جُبَيْر بن نَفِير قال قال رسول الله صلعم انكم لن ترجعوا الى الله
 بشيء افضل مما خرج منه يعنى القرآن، وروى عن عبد الله بن
 مسعود رضى الله عنه انه قال جردوا القرآن ولا تكتبوا فيه شيئا الا
 كلام الله، وروى عن عمر بن الخطاب رضى الله عنه [Cod. omits] انه
 قال هذا القرآن كلام الله فضعوه مواضعه، قال رجل للحسن البصرى
 ياها سعيد الى اذا قرأت كتاب الله وتديرتك كدت ان ائس وينقطع
 رجلى قال فقال الحسن ان القرآن كلام الله اعمل بنى آدم الى
 الضعف والتقصير فاعمل وابشر، وقال فروة بن نوفل الاشجعى
 كنت جار الخبّاب وهو من اصحاب النبى صلى الله عليه

good petitions for the Commander of the Faithful and to perfect [all] that for the Commander of the Faithful, that he may go on in his design; [I ask God] to help him, also, in that in which he is engaged. Now, it is related from Ibn 'Abbās

وسلم فخرجت معه يوما من المسجد وهو أخذ بيدي
 قال يا هذا تقرب الى الله بما استطعت فانك لن تقرب الله بشيء
 احب اليه من كلامه، وقال رجل للتحكم بن عيينة ما حمل اهل
 [اهل] [Cod.] الاهواء على هذا كل القصصات، وقال معاوية بن قرة
 وكان ابو من اتى النبي صلعم لياكم وهذه القصصات فتها تحبظ
 الاعمال، وقال ابو قلابنة وكان قد ادرك غير واحد من اهل رسل
 الله صلعم لا تجالسوا اهل الاهواء او قال اهل القصصات فانى
 لا آمن ان يغمسوكم في صلاتهم ويلبسوا عليكم بعض ما تعرفون،
 ويدخل رجلان من اهل الاهواء على محمد بن سيرين قالا يابا بكر
 نحدثك بحديث قالا لا قالا فنقرأ عليك آية من كتاب الله قال
 لا تقوماني عنى او لأقومنه قال فقام الرجلان فخرجا فقال بعض القوم
 يابا بكر وما عليك ان تقرأ عليك آية من كتاب الله فقال له ابن
 سيرين انى خشيت ان يقرأ [يعني Cod.] على آية فيحرفانها فيقر ذلك
 قلبي، وقال محمد لو أعلم انى اكون مثلى الساعة لتركتهما، وقال
 رجل من اهل البدع لا يوجب السختيانى يابا بكر اسألك عن كلمة
 فى فوكى وهو يقول بيده ولا نصف كلمة، وقال طاووس بن طامس لابن
 له وتكلم رجل من اهل البدع يابى أدخل اصبعيك فى انفيك
 حتى لا تسمع ما يقول ثم قال أشد أشد، وقال عمر بن عبد
 العزيز من جعل دينه غرضا للخصومات اكثر التنقل، قال ابو الفضل
 وجدت فى كتاب ابى بخطه قتا اسمعيل عن يونس قال نبئت ان

that he said, 'Do not smite God's Book one part of it with another part, for that casts doubt into your hearts'. And it is told from Abdallah ibn 'Omar that he said, 'Some persons were sitting at the Prophet's door, and some of them

عمر بن عبد العزيز قال من جعل دينه غرضاً للخصومات اكثر
التنقل، وقال ابراهيم النخعي ان القوم لم يدخر عنهم شيء [شيا Cod.]
حتى لكم لفصل عندكم، وكان الحسن يقول شر داء خالط قلبا يعنى
الاهواء، وقال حذيفة بن اليمان رضى الله عنه وكان من اصحاب رسول
الله صلعم اتقوا الله معشر القراء وخذوا طريق من كان قبلكم والله
لبن استبقتكم لقد سبقتم سبقا بعيدا ولبن تركتموه يميننا وشمالا
نقد ضللتهم ضلالا بعيدا او قلل مبينا قال ابى وانما تركت ذكر
الاسانيد لما تقدم من اليمين التى حلفت بها مما قد علمه امير
المؤمنين لو لا ذلك ذكرتها باسانيدها وقد قال الله تعالى وان
أخذ من المشركين استعجارك فاجره حتى يسمع كلام الله [Kor. 9. 6]
وقال الا له الخلف والامر [Kor. 7. 52] فاخبر بالخلف ثم قال والامر
فاخبر ان الامر غير الخلف وقال تعالى الرحمن علم القرآن خلق
الانسان علمه البيان [Kor. 55. 1, 2, 3] فاخبر تعالى ان القرآن من
علمه وقال ومن ترضى عنك اليهود ولا النصارى حتى تتبع ملتتهم
قل ان هدى الله فواللهي ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم بعد الذى جاءك
من العلم ما لك من الله من ولي ولا نصير [Kor. 2. 114] وقال
ولئن اتبعت الدين أو اتوا الكتاب بكذآية ما تبعوا قبلك وما أنت
بتابع قبلتهم وما بعضهم بتابع قبلة بعض ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم من
بعد ما جاءك من العلم انه اذا لمن الظالمين [Kor. 2. 140] وقال
وكذلك أنزلناه حكما قريبا ولئن اتبعت أهواءهم بعد ما جاءك من

were saying, Does not God say so and so? while others were saying, Nay! does not God say so and so? and the Messenger of God heard that, and went out — and it was as if pomegranates¹⁾ had been burst over his face — and he said, 'Was it this ye were commanded to observe, to smite God's Book one part of it with another? The peoples who were before you erred thus, but ye have nothing to do with this. Observe what ye are ordered to do and do it; and observe what ye are forbidden to do and abstain from it'. It is related from Abū Huraira from the Prophet that he said, 'Disputation about the Korān is unbelief.' It is related from Abū Juhaim, one of the Companions of the Prophet, from the Prophet that he said, 'Do not dispute over the Korān, for disputation over it is unbelief.' Abdallah ibn 'Abbās said, 'A man came to 'Omār ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, and 'Omār began to ask him about the people, and he said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, so and so many of them recite the Korān (or, supply مَرَّةً: 'Some of them have read the Korān so and so many times?'). And Ibn 'Abbās said, 'So I said, By God, I do not like them to vie with each other in rapid reading of the Korān, but 'Omār

أَعْلِمَ مَا لَهُ مِنْ قَلْبٍ مِنْ رَبِّي وَلَا وَابٍ [Kor. 13. 37] فَالْقُرْآنُ مِنْ
عِلْمِ اللَّهِ وَفِي هَذِهِ آيَاتٌ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى أَنَّ الَّذِي جَاءَهُ صَلَاحٌ هُوَ الْقُرْآنُ
لِقَوْلِهِ وَلَمَّا اتَّبَعْتَ أَهْوَاءَهُمْ بَعْدَ الَّذِي جَاءَكَ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ، وَقَدْ رَوَى مِنْ
غَيْرِ وَاحِدٍ مِنْ مَضَى مِنْ سَلَفِنَا أَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا يَقُولُونَ الْقُرْآنَ كَلَامَ
لِلَّهِ غَيْرِ مُخْلَقٍ وَهُوَ الَّذِي انْقَبَ إِلَيْهِ نَسْتُ بِصَاحِبِ كَلَامٍ وَلَا أَرَى
الْكَلَامَ فِي شَيْءٍ مِنْ هَذَا الْأَمْرِ إِلَّا مَا كَانَ فِي كِتَابِ اللَّهِ أَوْ فِي حَدِيثِ
عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَاحٌ أَوْ عَنْ أَصْحَابِهِ أَوْ عَنْ التَّابِعِينَ فَلَمَّا غَيْرَ ذَلِكَ
فَلَنْ الْكَلَامَ فِيهِ غَيْرَ مَحْمُودٍ،

¹⁾ حبّ الرمان "the seeds of the pomegranate", but often "the pomegranate" itself.

blamed me for saying this, and said, 'Stop! Hush!' I went down, then, to my dwelling afflicted and grieving [because he seemed to oppose my zeal for the *Ḳorân*]. And, while I was in this state of mind, a man came to me and said, 'Answer the summons of the Commander of the Faithful'. So I went out, and lo! he was at the door waiting for me, and he took me by the hand, went aside with me, and said, 'What was that with which you were displeased in what the man said a little while ago?' I said, 'O Commander of the Faithful, when they indulge in this rivalry to see who can read fastest, they read with mumbling voice; and if they read with mumbling voice, they dispute with one another; and if they dispute with one another, they fall into discord; and if they fall into discord they fight with one another. He said, 'Very good! Verily, by God, I was concealing it [the same opinion] from anyone until you said it'. It is related from Jâbir ibn Abdallah that he said, 'The Prophet was presenting himself to the men in the Mauḳif [at Arafât] and he said, Is there any man who will take me to his people? for the *Ḳoreish* have refused me the right to make known the Word of my Lord'. It is related from Jubair ibn Nufair that he said, 'The Messenger of God said, You cannot return unto God by means of anything more excellent than that which went out from him. He meant the *Ḳorân*'. It is related from Abdallah ibn Mas'ûd that he said, 'Write the bare *Ḳorân*, but do not write in it anything except the Word of God'. It is related from 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭâb that he said, 'This *Ḳorân* is the Word of God; give it, then, its proper place'. A man said to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrî, 'O Abû Sa'îd, when I read the Word of God, and think over it, I almost despair and give up hope'. And al-Ḥasan said, 'The *Ḳorân* is the Word of God; the works of the children of Adam incline toward weakness and insufficiency, but work and be of good cheer!' Farwa ibn Naufal al-Ashja'î said, 'I was a neighbour of al-Khaḭḭr, who was one of the Companions of the Prophet, and I went out with him one day from the mosque, he holding me by the

hand, and he said, O you! draw near to God by means of that which you are able to use as means, but you cannot draw near to God by means of anything dearer unto him than his Word'. A man said to al-Ḥakam ibn 'Uyaina, 'What leads the sceptics¹⁾ unto this [state of theirs]?' He said, 'Disputation'. Mu'āwīa ibn Qurra, whose father was one of those who came to the Prophet said, 'Beware of these disputations, for they spoil good works'. Abū Kilāba said (and he had met more than one of the Companions of the Messenger of God), 'Do not keep company with sceptics, (or he said, 'With disputatious people') for I do not feel secure that they will not plunge you in their error, and make obscure unto you a part of what ye know'. There entered two sceptics unto Moḥammed ibn Sirīn, and they said, 'O Abū Bekr, let us tell thee a tradition'. He said, 'Nay'. Then they said, 'Then let us recite unto thee a verse from the Ḳorān'. He said, 'Nay; ye surely shall go away from me, or else I shall go away'. So the two men arose and went out, and one of those present said, 'O Abū Bekr, what was the matter, that a verse from the Ḳorān might not be recited unto thee?' and Ibn Sirīn said to him, 'I was afraid that they would recite a verse unto me and would pervert it and that that should become fixed in my heart'. Moḥammed however, added, 'Had I known that I should be as I am now, I would certainly have allowed them'. A sceptic once asked Ayūb al-Sakhtiyānī, 'O Abū Bekr, I would ask thee just a word'; but he turned his back, and motioned with his hand, 'Nay; not half a word'. Ṭāūs ibn Ṭāūs said to a son of his, when a sceptic was speaking, 'O my son, put your fingers in your ears so that you shall

1) This word does not quite represent the idea of the original أهل الأفرأء.

These were a class of men who were not prepared to accept the religious systems of other persons, except as their own reasoning confirmed their positions. They were thus in the first instance sceptical and then eclectic, taking from different systems such views as they approved or 'desired' to take. The name Ahlu'l-'Aḥwā 'men of desires', is thus appropriate. v. Shahrastānī, Haarbrücker's transl'n I, p. 1 and note; Steiner, Die Mu'taziliten, 6.

not hear what he says'. Then he said, 'Run! Run!' 'Omar ibn Abd al-'Aziz said, 'He who makes his religion a butt for disputations is the most unsettled of men'. (*Abu'l Faql* said, 'I found it in a book of my father's in his own handwriting, 'Isma'il told us from Yûnus saying, I was told that 'Omar ibn Abd al-'Aziz said, 'He who makes his religion a butt for disputations is the most unsettled of men'). Ibrâhim al-Nakha'i said, 'These people shall have nothing laid up in store for them until there is with you an excellent provision'. Al-Ḥasan used to say, 'The worst diseased person is the man diseased at heart'; he meant the desires [i. e. men of desires — sceptics]. Hudhaifa ibn al-Yamân said, 'Fear God, O ye Reciters of the Ḳorân, and go in the way of those who were before you; for, if ye strive for precedence, ye have yet been preceded by a great distance, and if ye leave this way to the right or left ye have clearly committed error'. The letter went on to say: 'I have omitted the mention of the Isnâds because of the oath that I previously swore, of which the Commander of the Faithful is cognizant. If it were not for that, I should have mentioned them [the traditions] with their Isnâds. The Ḳorân, too, has said, 'And, if one of the idolaters seek protection of thee, grant him protection that he may hear the Word of God (Ḳorân 9. 6). 'Do not the Creation and the Command belong to him?' (Ḳorân 7.52). So he tells about 'the Creation', and then he says, 'and the Command', thus he tells us that the 'Command' is something else than 'the Creation''). Also, 'The Merciful taught (عَلَّمَ) the Ḳorân, he created man, he taught him the explanation' (Ḳorân 55. 1, 2, 3). Thus God tells that the Ḳorân is from his Knowledge (عِلْم). He, also, says, 'And the Jews will not be content with thee. nor the Christians, until thou dost follow their religion. Say, 'Verily the direction of God is the right direction; but, surely, if thou dost follow their passions and their desires, after that which has come to thee

1) cf. p. 119 and, also, p. 139.

of knowledge (عِلْم) there is for thee from God neither friend nor helper' (Korân 2. 114). He says also, 'Even if thou dost give to those to whom the Book has been given every sign, they will not follow thy kîbla, and thou wilt not follow their kîbla, and one part of them will not follow the kîbla of the other part. And, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (عِلْم), in that case, thou art, verily, one of those who do evil' (Korân 2. 140). And also, 'And, thus, we have sent it down as a decision in the Arabic language; and, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (عِلْم), there shall be for thee from God neither friend nor helper' (Korân 13. 37). Now, the Korân is from the Knowledge of God; and in these verses is a proof that that which came to him [the Messenger of God] is the Korân, according to his [God's] saying, 'And, surely, if thou dost follow their passions, after what has come to thee of knowledge (عِلْم)'.¹⁾

It has been related, moreover, from more than one of those who went before us that they used to say, 'the Korân is the Word of God uncreated', and that is what I believe. I am no dialectical theologian; I approve of argument in a matter of this kind only by means of what is in God's Book or a tradition from the Prophet, or from his Companions, or from those who followed them (Tâb'iûn), but, as for anything else, argument by means of it is not to be commended.

On one occasion, when al-Mutawakkil came to al-Shama-siyya on his way to al-Madâ'in, it was expected that Ahmed and his family would come, or send, to pay their respects to him, but Ahmed would neither go himself nor would he

1) "Passions" in these passages represents the word 'Ahwâ' found in the name Ahlu'l-'Ahwâ, so that the passages must be taken as condemning rationalism in theological matters.

Visit of Yahya allow Šālīḥ to go, for fear he should call attention to himself. The result of this was that *ibn Khaḥān* the next day Yahya ibn Khaḥān came with a great retinue to visit Aḥmed, bringing him greeting and many friendly enquiries from the Khalif, who, at the same time, besought the prayers of the Imām. These last Aḥmed assured Yahya were offered up every day for his master. Yahya then offered him a thousand dinārs for distribution among the poor. These, however, Aḥmed would not accept, pleading exemption, as he did on other occasions, on the ground that the Khalif had agreed to excuse him from obligation to do anything that might be distasteful to him.

Invitation from The money was finally given to Aḥmed's sons.
Moḥammed ibn On another occasion, Moḥammed ibn Abdallah
Abdallah ibn ibn Ṭāhir besought Aḥmed to pay him a visit
Ṭāhir. and strongly urged his request. This invitation, however, Aḥmed also declined, offering as an excuse the Khalif's dispensation. After these incidents he took upon himself a rigid fast, abstaining from all fat and, apparently, from meat, for the record states that *before* this time he had been provided with a dirhem's worth of meat, from which he ate for a month!')

قال ابو الفضل وقدم المتوكل فنزل الشمسية ١٥٥٠،
 يريد المدائن فقال لي ابي يا صالح احب ان لا تذنب اليهم ولا
 تنبّه [Cod. without points] على فلما كن بعد يوم واتا لاعد خارجا
 وكان يوم مطر اذا يحيى بن خلکان قد جاء والمطر [المطر
 عليه في موكب عظيم فقال سبحانه الله ان تبصر الينا حتى تبلغ
 امير المؤمنين السلام عن شيخك حتى وجد في نزل خارج الرق
 فجهدت به ان يدخل على الدابة فلم يفعل فجعل يخرص للمطر فلما
 صار الى الباب نزع جرمقه وكان على خفه ودخل ابي في الزاوية*
 لاعد عليه كساء مربع وعمامة والستر الذي على الباب خيش فسلم

Ahmed's In the course of events we have been brought
Sickness now to the year 241 A. H. On the first day of
and Death. Rabi' I of this year¹), Ahmed was taken with a

عليه وقبل جبهته وسأله من حاله قال امير المؤمنين يفرقك السلام
 وهو يقول كيف انت في نفسك وكيف حالك وقد آتست بقرينك
 وسألك ان تدعوه فقال ما ياكى على يوم الا ولا ادعوه ثم قال
 قد وجدته معى الف دينار لك تغرقها على اهل الحاجة فقال له ياكى
 وكيفية الا في البيت منقطع عن الناس وقد اغفلت من كل ما اكره
 وهذا مما اكره فقال ياكى عبد الله الخلفاء لا يحتلمون هذا فقال ياكى
 وكيفية تلطف في ذلك فدعا له ثم لم فلما صار الى الدار رجع وقال
 هكذا لو وجدته اليك بعض اخوانك كنت تفعل قال نعم فلما صرنا الى
 الدخيل قال قد امرنى امير المؤمنين ان انفعها اليك وتفرقها فقلت
 تكون عندك الا ان تمضى هذه الايام، قال لير الفصل وقد كان وجه
 محمد بن عبد الله بن طاهر الى ابيه في وقت قدومه مع العسكر
 احب ان تصير [تصير Cod.] الى وتعلمنى اليوم الذى تعزم عليه حتى
 لا يكون عندى احد فوجه اليه انا رجل لم اخلط السلطان
 وقد اغفلت امير المؤمنين مما اكره وهذا مما اكره فجهد ان يصير
 اليه فلبى وكان قد امن الصوم لما قدم وجعل لا ياكل اللحم
 وكان قبل ذلك يشتري له لحم بدرهم وياكل منه شهرا فترك اكل اللحم
 وادام الصوم والعمل فتوقفت انه كان قد جعل على نفسه ان سلم
 ان يفعل ذلك وكان حمل الى المتوكل سنة سبع وثلاثين ومائتين ثم
 مكث الى سنة احدى واربعين وكان قل يوم يمضى الا ورسول المتوكل
 Mohammed ibn Abdallah ibn Tahir came from Khorasan, and was ap-
 pointed over Irak in 237 A.H. Abu'l-Mah. I, 719.

¹) The sources now used are the following extracts; al-Makrizi, p. 15,
 فصل في ذكر مرضه ووفاته قال صالح لما كان في اول يوم من شهر ربيع

fever attended with difficulty in breathing, and became so weak that his limbs would not support him. A physician came to see him, and prescribed for his sickness roast

الاول سنة احدى واربعين وثلثين حُم لبي فدخلت عليه وهو
محموم فتنفس نفسا شديدا فقلت على ما افطرت للبارحة فقال على
ما بهقلا ثم اراد الثقيم فقال خذ بيدي فاخذت بيده فلما صار الى
الخلا ضعفت رجلاه حتى توة على ولكن يختلف اليه غير متطبب
كلام مسلمون فوصف له متطبب قرعة تشوى ويُسقى ماءها فقال يا
صالح قلت لبيك قل لا تشوى في منزلك ولا في منزل عبد الله اخيك
وأنتي الفتخ بن سهل وعلى بن الجعد فحجبتهما وكثر الناس قل
فلما شئ قري قلت تالان لهم فيدعون لك فلاننا لهم فجعولوا يدخلون
عليه الفواجا حتى تمتلى الدار وكثر انناس وامتلا الشارع واغلقنا
باب الزقان وجاء رجل من جيراننا قد خَصَبَ فقال انى لارى الرجل
يُحمى شيئا من السنة فأفرج به فجعل الرجل يدعو له فيقول ابي
ولجميع المسلمين ثم قل لي اقبط من السكبان دراهم واشتر تمرا وكثير
على كفارة يمين فاشتريت وكفرت واخبرته فقال الحمد لله قلت وزاد
الديلمورى في كتاب المجالسة ان الامام احمد قال فلنى حنثت في
دهرى في يمين واحدة ثم قال لي أحضر الوصية واقراها ولكن كتبها
قبل ذلك فقرأتها فاقراها على ما في عليه
قال واشتدت به العلة يوم الخميس فلما كان يوم الجمعة اجتمع الناس
ههنا ملؤا السكك والشوارع قال حنبل وكان عنده ثلاث شعرات من
شعر الذى صلعم فوصى عند موته ان يجعل على لسانه شعرة وعلى
كل عين شعرة ففعل به ذلك عند موته قال ولده عبد الله قال لي
ابى في مرضه الذى توفى فيه اخرج في كتاب عبد الله بن ابريس
فاخرجت الكتاب فقال لي اخرج احديث ليث بن لبي سليم

pumpkin, with the liquor of the pumpkin to be taken as a drink. Ahmed asked particularly that this might not be prepared in the houses of either of his sons. As soon as it was learned that he was sick, people began to come in crowds to visit him, until it became necessary to close the door of the street; and the governor, hearing of the crowds,

فأخرجتها فقال لي أقرأ على حديث [حديث Cod. repeats] ليث قلت
 لطلحة ان طامسا كان يكره الاثنين في المرض فما سمع له اثنين حتى
 مات رحمه الله فقرأت ذلك على أبي فما سمعته أن في مرضه الى ان
 توفي وسئل عبد الله هل عقل أبوك عند الموت
 فإلغينه قال نعم كنا نرضيه [نوصيه Cod.] فجعل يشير بيده فقال لي
 صالح اتي شيء يقول قلت هو يقول خللوا أصابعي فخللنا أصابعه ثم
 ترك الإشارة فمات من ساعته تغمد الله برحمته وذلك لاثنتي عشرة
 ليلة خلت من ربيع الأول سنة إحدى وأربعين ومئتين وهو ابن
 سبع وسبعين سنة فصل في غسله وتكفينه والصلاة عليه وعدد من
 اسلم يوم موته قال ولده صالح لما توفي أبي كان المتوكل غائبا فوجه
 الأمير ابن طاهر حاجبه ومعه غلامان معهما مناديل فيها ثياب
 وطيب وقالوا الأمير * يقرئك السلام ويقول لك قد فعلت ما لو كان أمير
 المؤمنين حاضرا لفعله فقلت له أقرئه مني السلام وقل له ان أمير
 المؤمنين قد كان اعفاه في حياته مما كان يكره ولا أحب ان اتبعه
 بعد موته بما كان يكرهه في حياته فعاد وقال يكون شعاره ولا يكون
 دثاره فأعدت عليه مثل ذلك وردت عليه وكفناه في ثلاث لغائف قال
 المروزي لما اردت ان اغسله جاء بنو هاشم واجتمع في الدار خلق
 كثير فدخلته البيت وغطيته بثوب وارخيت الستر حتى فرغت من
 امره فلما اردت تكفينه غلبنا عليه بنو هاشم واخذوا في البكاء عليه

considerately placed guards before the street door, while the family also placed guards before the door of the house. Only his physicians and such as he himself desired to see were then admitted. Among those who were thus allowed to see him was a neighbor, an elderly man with dyed hair and beard, on seeing whom Ahmed became greatly excited, and called the attention of those about him to this man as one 'who

وجعل اولادهم ينكبّون عليه ويقبلونه قبال صالح وارسل اتى ابن طاهر
يقول من يصلى على ابيك قلت انا فلما صرنا الى الصحراء وجدنا
ابن طاهر فخطا الينا خطوات وعزانا فلما وضع السرير تقدمت
للصلاة فجاءني ابن طاهر ومحمد بن نصر وقبضا على يدي وقالا
الامير فمانعتهم فغلبوا على وصلى ولم يعلم اكثر الناس بتقدمه
فلما كان من الغد وعلموا بذلك صاروا ياتون القبر افواجا فيصلون
عليه ومكثوا على ذلك اياما قل ولده عبد الله وكنا نحن والهاشميون
صلينا عليه داخل الدار كل الحلال سمعت عبد الوهاب الرواس يقول
ما بلغنا ان جمعا كان في الجاهلية والاسلام مثله حتى ان الموضع
التي وقف الناس فيها مسحت وحُزرت فلما هي نحو من الف الف
وحزرننا على السرور نحو من ستين الف امرأة وكل ابو زرعة بلغني
ان المتوكل امر ان يسمح الموضع الذي وقف الناس فيه للصلاة على
احمد بن حنبل فبلغ مقام الف الف وخمس مائة الف وفتح الناس
ابواب المنازل في الشوارع والبيوت والدروب وصاروا ينادون من
اراد البضوء وكل احمد بن الحسن اللقاعي كنت ببغداد وانا في
بستان لصديق لي فلما بشيخ وشاب وعليهما طمران فسلمت عليهما
وقلت اراكما من غير هذا البلد فلا نعم نحن من جبل الكلم
[الكلم Cod.] حضرا جنازة احمد بن حنبل وما بقي احد من الاولياء

was keeping alive the good rule of the Prophet'. Daily reports of the sick man's condition were now sent from Baghdād to the Khalif at the camp. These were never very encouraging, however, as Ahmed sank gradually day by day until he died. He seems to have borne his sickness with great fortitude, in which he was supported by a tradition of Tāūs,

لا حضرها وقل عبد الوهاب الوراق اظهر الناس في جنازة احمد بن حنبل السنة والطعن على اهل البلع قال جعفر بن محمد النسوي شهدت الناس في جنازة احمد بن حنبل يلعنون بشرا الربيسي والكراييسي باصوات عالية واظم الناس لهما يذبحون على القبر حتى قال ابو الحسن التميمي مكثت لهما رجاء ان احبل الى القبر فلم احبل اليه الا بعد اسبوع

قال المروزي رضى الله عنه مرض ابو عبد الله ليلة Al-Subh, p. 134 f. الاربعة لليلتين خلتا من ربيع الاول ومرض تسعة ايام وكان وما اذن للناس فيدخلون عليه افواجا مسلمون عليه ويد عليهم وتسامع الناس وكثروا وسمع السلطان بكثرة الناس فوكل ببابه وباب الرقاق الرابطة واصحاب الاخبار ثم اغلق باب الرقاق فكان الناس في الشوارع والمساجد حتى تعطل بعض الباعة وحيل بينهم وبين البيع والشراء وكان الرجل * اذا اراد ان يدخل اليه ربما تدخل من بعض الدور وطور الخالة ربما تسلف وجاء اصحاب الاخبار فقعدهوا على الابواب وجاء حاجب ابن طاهر فقال ان الامير يقرئك السلام وهو يشتهي ان يراك فقال هذا مما اكره وامير المؤمنين اعفاني مما اكره واصحاب الخبر يكتبون خبره الى العسكر والبرد مختلف كل يوم وجاء بنو هاشم فدخلوا عليه وجعلوا يبكون عليه وجاء قوم من القضاة وغيرهم فلم يزلوا ولم يدخل عليه شيخ فقال اذكر وقولك بين يدي

who is reported to have 'disliked groaning in sickness', on the ground that it was tantamount to complaining against God. Aḥmed, therefore, was never heard to groan, except on the day in which he died. Two or three days before his death, he enquired for his purse, and asked his son Ṣāliḥ to look what was in it. Ṣāliḥ did so and found a solitary

الله فشبهق ابو عبد الله وسالت الدموع على خديه فلما كان قبل
وفاته يوم او يومين قل ادعوا لي الصبيان بلسان ثقيل فجعلوا ينضمون
اليه وجعل يشمهم ويمسح بيده على رؤسهم وعينه تدمعُ وادخلت
الطشت تحتة فرايت بوله دماً عبيطاً ليس فيه برل فقلت للطبيب
فقال هذا رجل قد قتت للخرن والغم جوفه
الفاظ يقال ان احمد لما مات مسح الارض المبسوطة التي وقف
الناس للصلاة عليها فحصر مقادير الناس بالمساحة ستمائة الف واكثر
سوى ما كان في الاطراف والاماكن المتفرقة قلت وقيل في عدد المصلين
عليه كثير قيل كانوا الف الف وثلاثمائة الف سوى من كان في
السفن في الماء كذا رواه خشنار بن سعيد وقال ابن ابي حاتم
سمعت ابا زرعة يقول بلغني ان المتوكل امر ان يمسح الموضع الذي وقف
عليه الناس حيث صلى على احمد فبلغ المقام الف الف وخمسمائة
وعن المروكاني وهو رجل كان يسكن الى جوار الامام احمد قال اسلم
يوم مات احمد من اليهود والنصارى والمجوس عشرون الفا وفي لفظ
عشرة الاف قال شيخنا الذهبي وهي حكاية منكورة تفرد بها
المروكاني والراوى عنه قل والعقل يحيل ان يقع مثل هذا الحادث في
بغداد ولا يرويه جماعة تتوفر دواعيهم على نقل ما هو دونه بكثير
وكيف يقع مثل هذا الامر ولا يذكره المروزي ولا صالح بن احمد

dirhem. This his father directed him to use, together with some of the rent to be collected from the lodgers in his house, in buying dates to discharge an oath of almsgiving which he had taken upon himself. Šāliḥ carried out the order he had received, and returned to his father one-third of a dirhem, on receiving which Aḥmed rejoiced at the prospect of dying as poor as he had lived.

The duration of his sickness was not long. The physician declared that grief and the hard ascetic character of his life had ruptured the internal organs of his body and could give the family little hope of his recovery. A characteristic incident occurred when he was being washed preparatory to the performance of the last devotions in which he took part. He was unable to speak, but, strong in the ruling passion of scrupulousness in the law, he made a sign that his sons who were washing him should wash *between* his fingers as well as on the back and front of them. When this was done, it is said that he rested quietly until he passed away. His prayers he performed to the very last, his sons assisting him in the rak'as. One of his last charges was that three hairs of the Prophet which he had in his possession should at his death be placed, one on each eye and one on his lips, and this was actually done¹). So he died. The date of the

ولا عبد الله ولا حنبل الذين حكموا من اخبار ابي عبد الله جزئيات كثيرة قال قائلوا فوالله لو اسلم يوم موته عشرة انفس لكان عظيما ينبغي ان يرويه نحو من عشرة انفس

وكننت اثم بالليل الى جنبه فالا اراد حاجة حركي، 155 هـ، Abū Nu'aim،
فقايله وجعل يحرك لسانه ولم يفتح الا في الليلة التي توفي فيها ولم يزل يصلي قائما أمسكه فيبرقع ويسجد وارفعه في ركوعه واجتمعت عليه اوجاع الحصر وغير ذلك ولم يزل عقله ثابتا فلما كان يوم الجمعة لاثنتي عشرة ليلة خلت من شهر ربيع الاول لساعتين من النهار توفي رحمة الله عليه ومغفرته ورضوانه،

¹) cf. Goldziher. Moh. Stud. II, 358 and note 5.

event was Friday, the twelfth of Rabī' I, 241 A. H., his age being a few days, or it may be hours, more or less than seventy-seven years.

His Funeral. There was the most wonderful scene of grief all over the city of Baghdād, and even in distant places, when the news of his death became known. The scene at the funeral, on the afternoon of the day of his death, was one such as must have been seldom witnessed anywhere. The estimates of the number of those who attended are very discrepant. Some say 600,000 were present on the spot where the prayers were held over him; others say 2,500,000, and other figures fall between these two ¹⁾. It is said that there were 10,000, and some say even 20,000, converts to Islām from the other religions on the occasion of Aḥmed's death; but inasmuch as the family and others specially interested in him knew nothing of any such number, al-Subki's teacher Dhahabī thought such figures to be absurd and that ten converts would be nearer the truth. The Emīr Ibn Ṭāhir wished to furnish the burial suit of Aḥmed but Ṣāliḥ refused to accept it, as he knew that his father when living would have been unwilling to accept any gift from the Emīr. The filial respect of Ṣāliḥ for his dead father's wishes in regard to receiving gifts or attentions from persons of state now took very decided form. It was only by main force that his friends withheld him from displacing Ibn Ṭāhir in the official conduct of the prayers at the funeral ²⁾. Indeed, it was not known by the people that Ibn Ṭāhir had prayed over Aḥmed, until the day after he was buried. When they knew they flocked in crowds to his grave in the cemetery of the Bāb-Ḥarb ³⁾; so much so, that one man who attended the funeral, declared that it was a week before he was able to come near the tomb. His own family and the Hāshimites also conducted prayers for him inside their own quarters on the evening of the day of his death ⁴⁾. In the time of Ibn Challikān the

1) cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

3) cf. Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

2) Maḡoudī VII, 229.

4) Ibn Chall. N°. 19.

tomb of Aḥmed in the cemetery of the Bâb-Ḥarb was known far and wide and was much visited ¹⁾). At a later time, the raised work of the tomb was destroyed and the grave made level with the surface of the ground because of the undue reverence which was being shewn to it ²⁾).

His Biog. Among those who are said to have written of *raphers*. the Manâḳib of Aḥmed are Abū'l-Ḥasan ibn al-Munâdī ³⁾, the Ḥâfiẓ al-Manda ⁴⁾, al-Baihaḳī ⁵⁾, Abū Ismâ'īl al-Anṣārī, the Faḳīh Abū 'Alī ibn al-Bannâ, commentator of al-Khurkī, the Ḥâfiẓ Ibn Nâsir, the Ḥâfiẓ Abū'l-Faraj ibn al-Jauzī ⁶⁾, Abd al-Raḥmân ibn Abī Hâtim al-Râzī and al-Ḥasan ibn Moḥammed al-Khallâl ⁷⁾).

IV.

His Family. The immediate descendants of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal ⁸⁾, except his two sons Ṣâliḥ and Abdallah, both of whom

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19; vid. also al-Nawawī, p. 146.

2) Goldziher, Moh. Stud. I, 257.

3) al-Fihrist I, 38 f.; Dhahabī Ṭabaḳât II, N°. 55.

4) Dhahabī, Ṭabaḳât 13, N°. 29.

5) Ibn Chall. N°. 27; Dhahabī Ṭabaḳât 14, N°. 13.

6) In his book *التعديل والجرح*, Chapter on the Manâḳib of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal. v. al-Nawawī Biog. Dict. 143; cf. on Ibn al-Jauzī, Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 186 and note 2.

7) Dhahabī, Ṭabaḳât 13, N°. 68. The others I have not been able to trace in the authorities at command.

8) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 18, *وقد افرد جماعة من الائمة مناقبه بالتصنيف*

كلامه ابي حسن بن المنادي والحافظ ابن منداه والبيهقي وشيخ الاسلام الاتصاري والفقيه ابي علي بن البنا شارح الفرقى والحافظ ابن ناصر والحافظ ابي الفرج بن الجوزي وعبد الرحمن بن ابي حاتم الرازي والحسن بن محمد الخلال وغيرهم رضي الله عنهم اجمعين انتهى

9) al-Maḳrīzī, p. 2, *ولده* وكنيته ابو الفضل ولد

were men of eminence, were not remarkable in their time. His eldest son was Ṣāliḥ, surnamed Abū'l Faḍl, who was born in the year 203. He related Tradition from his father and from Abū'l Walid al-Ṭayālisi and 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī, and had as pupils his own son Zuhair, who died in 303, al-Baghawī and Moḥammed ibn Makhlād. Ṣāliḥ occupied the office of Kāḍī of Ispahān. His mother was 'Abbāsa bint al-Faḍl. His death occurred in the year 265¹⁾. The second son was Abdallah Abū Abd al-Raḥmān²⁾. He studied a great deal with his father, and studied, also, with Abd al-A'la ibn Ḥammād, Yaḥya ibn Ma'īn, Abū Bekr ibn Abī Shaiba, and many others. He was a man thoroughly conversant with

سنة ثلاث ومائتين وروى عن ابيه وابي الوليد الطيالسي وعلى بن
الدهبي وروى عنه ابنه زهير والبغوي ومحمد بن مخلد ويكي قصة
اصبهان وهو من زوجته عباسه بنت الفضل توفي سنة خمس وستين
ومائتين وعبد الله وكنيته ابو عبد الرحمن سمع من ابيه واكثر عنه
ومن عبد الاهلي بن حماد وحيي بن معين ومن ابي بكر بن ابي
شهاب وخلف كثير قال الدهبي كن اماما خبيرا بالحديث وعلمه مقدما
فيه ولما مرض قال ادنوني بالقطيعة فليل له الا تدفن عند ابيك
يعني بمكة باب حرب فقال من عندي ان بالقطيعة نبيا مدخولا
ولان اكون في جوار نبي احب الي من ان اكون في جوار ابي وكنت
ولانه في سنة تسعين ومائتين وسنة سبع وسبعين سنة كلبيه وللامم
الحمد ولد اسمه سعيد من سريه يقال لها [Cod. له] حسن ويكي قصة
الكوفة وله منها ولد اسمه محمد واخر اسمه الحسن وله منها بنت
اسمها رندب وله منها ولدان توصلن احدهما الحسن والاخر الحسين
واما بالقرب من ولادتهما وله بنت اسمها فاطمة والده اعلم

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19, says 'Ramaḍān 266 A. H.'

2) Abū'l-Mah. II, 136. cf. his relation to the Muḥadd of his father, p. 24

Tradition and the arguments for it. The special distinction which he enjoyed, however, was that of being the greatest authority on the traditions of his father. It is related of him that, when he was on his death-bed, he asked to be buried in the quarter called commonly al-Ḥarbiya [or القطيعة = the quarter of the city or the plot of ground in which his house stood?]. Those present asked him if he would not rather be buried with his father in the cemetery at the Bâb-Ḥarb, but he said he preferred to be under the protection of a prophet whom he knew by trustworthy reports to have been buried in al-Ḥarbiya to being under the protection of his father. He died at the age of 77 in the year 290 A. H. ¹⁾ By a concubine named Ḥisn Aḥmed had a third son, who was named Sa'īd and who became in time Kāḍi of Kūfa. By the same mother he had, further, two sons Moḥammed and al-Ḥasan and a daughter Zainab, and, likewise, by the same mother, twin sons al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusain, who died soon after their birth. Finally, he had another daughter whose name was Fāṭima. ²⁾ This is all that is known of his family.

Testimonies A few evidences of the esteem in which Aḥmed of Esteem. was held will assist us to place him in the position which he really occupied in the estimation of his own and of following generations. His pupil Abū Zur'a said he had never met with any one in whom learning (علم), selfdenial, knowledge of the law and general knowledge (معرفة) were so combined as in his master ³⁾. This is one opinion out of a host of similar ones, all of which are ex-

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19 says, '8th day remaining of Jumādā I, some say Jumādā II'.

2) cf. Abū Nu'aim, 153, قال ابو الفضل صالح ثم كتبت لنا بشيء الى بانورنيا فبلغه فجاء الى الكوفة التي في الباب فقال يا صالح الخ The 'Umm 'All here referred to may be the Zainab or Fāṭima named above.

3) Abū Nu'aim, 139, اخبرنا ابو بكر محمد بن احمد بن محمد

ceedingly fulsome in expression, but still afford us the substantial truth of his high worth in the view of the men among whom he moved. By many testimonies he is placed at the side of the greatest doctors of Islām in the ages which had preceded him, — Sofyān al-Thaurī, Mālik ibn Anas, Abd al-Rahmān ibn Amr al-Auzāʿī, al-Laith ibn Saʿd and Ibn ʿAbbās. The regard in which Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal was held is also seen in the way in which he is cited as giving an opinion on the doctors of his time; as, for example, by al-Nawawī, biographies of ʿAlī ibn al-Madīnī, Yazīd ibn Hārūn, Yaḥya ibn Saʿīd al-Kaṭṭān, Yaḥya ibn Maʿīn; also Ibn Challikān on Abū Thaur and Ishāk ibn Rāhawaih. Al-Dhahabī, too, in his Ṭabaḳāt adduces Aḥmed's opinion in regard to the men of his time with great frequency and with evidence of much respect. It used to be held that, if Aḥmed discredited anybody, he could not fail to suffer for it in the eyes of people generally¹). A noteworthy testimony is that of al-Ḥusain ibn ʿAlī ibn Yazīd al-Karābīsī, a man with whose theological views Aḥmed had little sympathy. He said that those who spoke evil of Aḥmed were

قَتَا عَبْدَ اللَّهِ بْنَ مُحَمَّدٍ بْنِ عَبْدِ الْكَرِيمِ قُلَّ سَمِعَتْ أَمَا زُرْعَةُ يَقُولُ
مَا رَأَتْ عَيْنِي مِثْلَ أَحْمَدَ بْنِ حَنْبَلٍ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ فِي الْعِلْمِ فَقَالَ فِي الْعِلْمِ
وَالزُّهْدِ وَالْفَقْهِ وَالْمَعْرِفَةِ وَكَذَلِكَ خَيْرٌ مَا رَأَتْ عَيْنِي مِثْلَهُ

قَالَ (عُمَرُ بْنُ الْحَسَنِ الْقَاضِي) سَمِعْتُ 1402, Abū Nuʿaim,

أَمَا يَحْيَى النَّاقِدُ يَقُولُ كُنَّا عِنْدَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ بْنِ قَرْعَةَ فَذَكَرُوا عَلَى بْنِ
عَاصِمٍ فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ يُضَعِّفُهُ فَقَالَ رَجُلٌ وَمَا يَضُرُّهُ مِنْ
ذَلِكَ إِنْ كَانَ ثِقَةً فَقَالَ إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ قَرْعَةَ وَاللَّهِ لَوْ تَكَلَّمَ أَحْمَدُ بْنُ
حَنْبَلٍ فِي عَلَقْمَةَ وَالْأَسْوَدِ نَضَرْتُهُمَا The force of the passage is clear. For

الأسود and al-Aswad cf. Dhahabī قيس عَلَقْمَةَ بْنُ قَيْسٍ Ṭabaḳ. 2, 1; 280, 1. 2. النسخة ib. 6; Abū'l-Mah. 1,

people who tried to kick over the mountain Abû Ku-
ais with their feet ¹⁾.

Ahmed as a Faḳīh. As a faḳīh he bore a great reputation among his companions, as well as with others in his own generation and the generations following. The reputation of Aḥmed in Baghdād at the time of Abû Ja'far Moḥammed ibn Jarir al-Ṭabarī († 310 A. H.) is shewn by the anger of the Baghdād people that al-Ṭabarī should have omitted reference to Aḥmed in his book upon 'the Faḳīhs and their distinctive doctrines'. His reason was that Aḥmed was no faḳīh but rather a traditionist ²⁾. The opinion was given out in his own day that he was a greater faḳīh than 'Alī ibn al-Madīnī ³⁾. One traditionist in speaking of Aḥmed's authority on the subject of Tradition said that when Aḥmed supported him in a tradition he was indifferent as to who might differ from him in relation to it ⁴⁾. He was credited with extraordinary power of discrimination in the judging of sound and unsound traditions ⁵⁾. The general impression that one gets from the biographical details which we have brought together in the present work, and from less important notices which could not with propriety be introduced into the narrative, is that Aḥmed's judgment on points of Fīḫ was seriously reached and often shrewd, but always shewed narrowness. His general reliance upon the Ḳorān and the Tradition cannot be discredited from a Muslim standpoint, and was a safer course, viewed from that point of view, than any setting aside of such evidences in favor of individual judgment could have been ⁶⁾. But his principle of slavish literalness and his incorrigible arbitrariness in the interpretation of his evidences was that

يقول (الكرايسى) مثل الذين يذكر
أحمد بن حنبل مثل قوم يجيئون إلى أبي قبيس يريدون أن يهدموا
بناهم

2) cf. Goldziher, *Zahriten*, p. 4 (from *Abu'l-Feda Ann.* II, p. 344).

3) al-Nawawī, p. 144.

4) al-Nawawī, p. 144.

5) cf. p. 28.

6) cf. Houtsma, *De Strijd etc.* 95.

which vitiated his claim to direct men to sound and permanent positions in theology. Such was impossible with his method. Belief founded on the letter of any standard of faith will always be narrow, dogmatic and polemical. Life founded on the letter of any rule of conduct can be only hard and exclusive in character. Just but not genial; irreproachable, but unattractive — such is the life. Sincere and earnest and, with its own postulates, correct, but, still, wrong at its foundation and unsightly in its superstructure — such is the opinion.

We subjoin a few remarks about the traits of character and habits of life of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, with a passing *Habits of Life* notice of his personal appearance. He was abstemious in the extreme, so much so, in fact, that his life might be termed a continuous fast. He is reported never to have bought a pomegranate, quince or any other kind of fruit, unless it might be a melon or grapes, which he ate with bread. In eating his bread he frequently dispensed with the use of vinegar. It was often the case that his sons bought things which they deemed permissible or even necessary, but which were luxuries in his eyes; and to escape in such a case his strictures they hid the things from him altogether ¹⁾. It is said that when he appeared before Ishāk ibn Ibrāhīm after his long imprisonment in 219 A. H., Ishāk looked in the little basket which Aḥmed had with him and found his store of food to consist of two pieces of bread, a piece of cucumber and some salt ²⁾.

He had a profound dislike to the receiving of money assistance from others, and took very little pains to secure any

1) al-Nawawī, p. 116.

2) al-Makrīzī, p. 5, فَبَقِيَ اسْحَاقُ بْنُ إِبْرَاهِيمَ فَاتَّخَذَ الزَّيْبِيلَ الَّذِي فِيهِ الْفَطَارُ إِنْ عَهِدَ اللَّهُ فَنَظَرَ إِلَيْهِ فَاتَّخَذَ فِيهِ رَغِيْقَانِ وَشَيْءٌ مِنْ قَتْنٍ وَبَلَحٍ فَعَاجِبَ اسْحَاقُ مِنْ ذَلِكَ

money for himself. His happiest moments were those when he was left without a coin in his purse¹⁾. His needs were few and his expenses next to nothing²⁾. We have had in the course of the narrative abundant illustration of his selfdenial and his preference for poverty, and, were it desirable to do so, much more of the same kind of incident could be furnished.

Characteristics. His demeanor was that of a man abstracted from the common concerns of life, though in questions of learning he always shewed the liveliest interest³⁾. He was a man of gentle nature, but capable of being roused to vehemence at the sight of injustice or wrong done to men or of impiety shewn toward God⁴⁾. That he was looked upon as a scrupulously just man, even among those who were not Muslims, is shewn in many ways. One incident may be mentioned. It is related that two Magian women had a dispute about an inheritance before a Muslim Kâdî, and when judgment had been rendered, the woman against whom the judge had decided said to him, 'If thou hast decided against me according to the decision of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal, I am content; if not, I will not acquiesce in it'. The narrator of the story thought it such a strong testimony to Aḥmed's character that he told it far and near to those whom he met⁵⁾. Aḥmed's aversion toward lightness,

1) al-Nawawî, p. 140.

2) al-Nawawî, 144, cf. pp. 141, 164.

3) Abū Nu'aim, 138 هـ، أحمد بن حنبل حدثنا سليمان بن أحمد قنا أحمد بن محمد القاضي قال سمعت أبا داود السجستاني يقول لقيت ملتين من مشايخ العلم فما رأيت مثل أحمد بن حنبل لم يكن يخص في شيء مما يخص فيه الناس من أمر الدنيا فإذا ذكر العلم تكلم

4) cf. pp. 73, 150.

5) Abū Nu'aim, 141 هـ، أحمد بن حنبل حدثنا أبو الحسن قنا عبد الله بن أحمد بن حنبل حدثني نوح بن حبيب القومسي قال كان عندنا

particularly in men of learning, was pronounced. On a certain occasion Yazid ibn Hārūn was indulging in pleasant badinage with his amanuensis, when some one in the room gave a slight cough. Yazid enquired who it might be that had given the apparent sign of disapproval, and, on being told that it was Aḥmed, he smote his forehead, and, turning to those nearest to him, asked them reproachfully why they had not told him of Aḥmed's presence that he might have observed becoming gravity before him¹⁾.

People used to say that Aḥmed himself was a touchstone or Miḥna. A versifier, Ibn A'yan, has the lines, 'Ibn Ḥanbal is a safe test (Miḥna): By the love borne to Aḥmed the pious man is known; But when one is seen who defames him, Then be sure that his true character will be disclosed'²⁾.

يعنى بلدم امرأتان ماجوسيتان فاختصمتا [اختصما Cod.] في مواريث
لهن الى رجل من المسلمين فقصى لواحدة منهن على الاخرى
فقال له ان كنت قصيت على بقصة احمد بن حنبل رضى
والا فالى لا ارضى قال نوح فحدثت به احمد طروس والشامت

حدثنا سليمان بن احمد قنا الحسن بن
على العمري قال سمعت خلف بن سالم يقول قال كنا في مجلس يزيد
ابن هرون فمزح يزيد مع مستمليه فتناخنج احمد بن حنبل وكان
في المجلس فقال يزيد من التناخنج فليل له احمد بن حنبل فصر
يزيد بيده على جبينه وقال الا اعلمتوني ان احمد هاهنا حتى
لا امزح

قال (ابو جعفر محمد بن دينار الموصلي)، 134, p. al-Subki 1)

انشدني ابن اعين في الامام احمد بن حنبل رضى الله عنه

'اضحى ابن حنبل معنة مأمنة'

'ويحب احمد يعرف المتنسك'

Religious Character. An indication of Aḥmed's character from the religious point of view is found in the following verses, which are said to be of his composition and furnish the only discoverable trace of his poetic talent. 'Whenever thou art alone at any time, do not say I am alone, but say over me is a Watcher; And do not think that God is indifferent to what has passed by, and that what thou hidest from him is out of his sight. We give ourselves no care until sins follow upon the track of sins; But then! would that God would grant us repentance, and we would repent! 1)

It is said that he was wont to pray every day 300 rak'as, and that, even after he was scourged and his bodily weakness was extreme, he reached the number of 150 daily. He completed a recitation of the Ḳorān once in every seven days. It was his custom at night after the last prayer of the day, to sleep for a short time, and then to arise and pray formal or extemporized prayers until the morning 2).

وَاِذَا رَايْتَ لِاحْمَدَ مُتَنَقِّصًا

فَاعْلَمْ بِأَن سَتُورَهُ سَتُّهُتَكَ

حدثنا أبو علي عيسى بن محمد الجرجسي، 155 هـ، Abū Nu'aim،

[الجرىسى Cod.] قُتْنَا أَحْمَدُ بْنُ يَحْيَى ثَعْلَبَ النَّحْوِيُّ قَالَ كُنْتُ

أَحِبُّ أَنْ أَرَى أَحْمَدَ بْنَ حَنْبَلٍ فَدَخَلْتُ عَلَيْهِ فَقَالَ لِي فِيمَ تَنْظُرُ

فَقُلْتُ لَهُ فِي النَّحْوِ وَالْعَرَبِيَّةِ وَالشَّعْرِ فَانْشَدَنِي أَحْمَدُ بْنُ حَنْبَلٍ

'إِذَا مَا خَلَوْتَ الدَّهْرَ يَوْمًا فَلَا تَقُلْ، خَلَوْتُ وَلَكِنْ قُلْ عَلَى رَقِيبٍ،

وَلَا تَحْسِبَنَّ اللَّهَ يُغْفِرُ مَا مَضَى، وَأَنْ الَّذِي تُخْفِي عَلَيْهِ يَغِيبُ،

'لَهْرُنَا عَنْ الْإِسَامِ حَتَّى تَتَلَبَّعَتْ، لُنُوبٍ عَلَى أَثَارِهِنْ نُنُوبُ،

'فَيَا لَيْتَ أَنْ اللَّهَ يَغْفِرَ مَا مَضَى، وَيَأْتِنَا لَنَا فِي تَوْبَةٍ فَتُتَوَّبُ،

حدثنا سليمان بن أحمد قُتْنَا عَبْدُ اللَّهِ، 143 هـ، Abū Nu'aim، 2)

ابن أحمد بن حنبل قال كان أبي يصلي في كل يوم وليلة ثلثمائة

When at home in Baghdad he is said to have perseveringly kept to his house, so that none ever saw him, unless it were at public worship, at a funeral, or visiting the sick ¹⁾. He was scrupulous in his adherence to Tradition and to the ritual observances. We have already cited the incident of the ritual ablutions performed on him by his sons just before his death, when, though unable to speak, he made signs that they should wash between, as well as upon the front and back of his fingers ²⁾.

Personal Appearance. In personal appearance, Ahmed was of beautiful countenance and of medium height. He used to dye his hair and beard with henna and katam, but not a

ركعة فلما مريض من تلك الاموات اضغته * وكل يصى في كل يوم
وليلة مائة وخمسين ركعة وقد كل قه من قهتين، حدثنا
سليمان بن احمد ثنا عبد الله بن احمد بن حنبل قال كل
ابى بكر في كل يوم سبعا يختتم في كل سبعة ايام وكقت له ختمة
في كل سبع ليل سبى صلاة النهار وكان سبعة يصى عشة الاخرة
يلام ليلة خفيفة ثم يلزم الى الصباح يصى ويدعو

قال همد الله وكان ابى امير الناس على 1) Abū Naʿīm, 143 هـ،
الوحدة لم يره احد الا في مسجد او حضور جنازة او عيادة مريض
وكان يكره المشى في الاسواق، حدثنا ابى قتا احمد قتا
حمد الله بن احمد بن حنبل قال خرج ابى الى طرس مشيا
وخرج الى اليمن ماشيا وحج خمس حجج ثلاثا منها ماشيا
ولا يمكن لاحد ان يزل راى ابى * في هذه النواحي يوما الا اذا
خرج الى المدينة وكان امير الناس على الوحدة وبشر رحمه الله فيما
كان فيه لم يكن يصبر على الوحدة فكان يخرج الى ذا ساعة والى
ذا ساعة

2) vid. p. 171.

deep red, for in his beard were seen black hairs. He began the practice of dyeing his hair and beard when in his sixty-third year, and then wholly out of regard for the practice of the Prophet ¹⁾).

V.

His Views. Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal was a man whose peculiar temperament disposed him not only to the kind of life which he lived — intense, ascetic, and fierce in its protest against liberalism, — but also to those views and beliefs which were, to a certain extent, the springs of such a life ²⁾. His beliefs were not entirely free from adjustment to the circumstances of his age, but the measure of accommodation was the least that could be made. In fact, look where we will in Aḥmed's life, and the elements of concession and compromise are never found to be present by his own wish, and, when found, their degree is the minimum possible.

Sources. We propose to generalize on the basis of the narrative already furnished and the few other sources of information accessible, in order to reach, if we can, a fair notion of the leading theological opinions or principles by which Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal directed his life. His testament, (which has been given in the foregoing pages ³⁾), is a very colorless document, and affords no view of his characteristic beliefs. The confession it contains comprises stock phrases, which might come from a Muslim of any kind or character. The letter to 'Obaidallah ibn Yaḥya, in an-

1) Ibn Chall. N°. 19; Abū Nu'aim, 138 هـ، رخصب

أبى راسه وإحييته بالحناء والكتم وهو ابن ثلاث وستين سنة

2) Abū Nu'aim, 153 هـ، يا أبا

قد دخلت إليه فأكببت عليه وقلت له يا أبا

قد دخل على نفسه الغم فقال يا بني ياتيني ما لا أملكه

3) p. 147.

swer to the Khalif's enquiry relative to the Korân, has so much that is characteristic that we may credit it with representing accurately Aḥmed's belief ¹⁾. The conversation on the Korân with Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm is fully in the spirit of Aḥmed's life, and lends us an interesting view of his faith as touching the Korân ²⁾. The trials before Ishâk ibn Ibrâhîm and al-Muṭṭasîm, with the conversations connected with them, furnish much light on Aḥmed's opinions and the individual element which they contain ³⁾.

The Korân. First, Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's doctrine of the Korân ⁴⁾. The Korân he asserted to be the Word of God, by which he meant the expression of God's Knowledge, as such expression must be thought to be eternally present to God's Being. Or, if we must modify this at all, it would be to say, that, as long as there has been present to God that which is objective to Himself, so long has there been a Word of God as the expression of his Knowledge. Before the Objective came into existence, the Word of God was potential in Him and not actual. This gives us the Eternity of the Word of God. Then, as the Divine Knowledge cannot be conceived to be without the eternal adjunct of symbolic expression, and as speech is to be looked upon as a faculty expressing itself in energy and not a creation, the Word of God is not only eternal but uncreated as well. It may be objected that a Word of God is not the point in question, but the Korân, *the* Word of God as known to men. Be it noted, however, that the distinction between the written or otherwise presented Korân and the heavenly and essential Word of God is clearly drawn ⁵⁾. This, too, is

1) p. 155.

2) p. 139.

3) p. 93 ff.

4) p. 101. cf. Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, p. 138 ff. The Word of God was said by some of the orthodox to be an attribute of God, Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 103 f. cf. Shahrastâni. All the evidence at command, however, shews that Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's belief was as I have set it forth.

5) cf. von Kremer, *Herrsch. Ideen d. Isl.* 227; Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 38 f. The accounts given of the orthodox view as to the Korân differ from that which I have inferred Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal to have held. Nor does he

not drawn for the purposes of mere controversy, but represents, as we take it, a belief in the difference of extent between the visible and invisible Word of God. All the words spoken to Moses are the Word of God ¹⁾; certainly, not as belonging to the visible *Ḳorân*, but as belonging to the one eternal Word of God. All God's words to Moḥammed and to the prophets are the Word of God; all those which were spoken to 'Isâ ibn Maryam are equally the Word of God. And, in controversy, the words spoken to these various persons are used to prove the uncreated and eternal nature of the *visible* *Ḳorân*, though they form no part of the Book. Why? Because they, with the substance of the *Ḳorân*, are the revelations of the Eternal Word, not revelations coextensive with it but partial revelations. This leads to the doctrine that the Word of God is one as well as eternal and uncreated ²⁾. It could not be one if the visible words were taken in evidence, but regarded as a faculty of expression, latent or energizing, belonging to a Being, we

seem to have been alone in his idea of the *Ḳorân*, but had both among the learned and unlearned a large number who sympathized with his opinions. Most of those who have expounded the orthodox view make the distinction between the visible and invisible *Ḳorân* and go no further, thus making the Book as known to men the equivalent of that preserved in Heaven. The great distinction to be drawn is between the visible *Ḳorân* and the invisible *Word of God*, the latter being not an equivalent but infinitely more extensive than the former. The connection with the doctrine of the Logos as held by Syrian Christians (Houtsma 101, note 1) confirms the presentation of the *Ḳorân* doctrine which is given in the text. The manifestation of the Logos in Jesus Christ is to be set over against the Heavenly and Uncreated Logos which is in the bosom of the Father. As for the 'Well-guarded Table' of the *Ḳorân*, Sura 85, 22, (cf. Steiner 39 and note 5, also in the preceding account in these pages, p. 67) this, it is true, was an archetype of the visible *Ḳorân* kept in Heaven, but, still, even this celestial archetype was not coextensive with the eternal and uncreated Word of God of which it was one manifestation. We thus think that the orthodox in Ahmed's day held to three elements in their doctrine of the *Ḳorân*: 1st, the Visible *Ḳorân*; 2nd, the Heavenly *Ḳorân*; 3rd, the Eternal Word of God.

1) p. 38.

2) cf. Goldziher, *Ẓāhiriten*, p. 138 ff.; Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 129.

may see how the Word of God came to be looked upon as a continuous unity; or, as we may better express a fact in relation to a Being not knowing any succession of time, as a unity in an eternal present. Such a Word of God, considered both as to its thoughts and words, is necessarily without fault and infallible ¹⁾. The Word of God is, thus, Eternal, Uncreated, One and Infallible. This we conceive to have been the doctrine of the Korân held by Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the theologians of his type. We have used modern expression to voice his ideas; the ideas, however, are not ours but his.

The Korân, in terrestrial relations ²⁾, is to be regarded as a manifestation of the One Word of God such as constitutes a revelation of the perfect religion, a means of salvation and a right guidance for men. In all the forms of its existence among men, written, recited or committed to memory, the substance and the unexpressed words in which the substance is embodied in God's thought are eternal, uncreated, infallible ³⁾. The human acts in relation to the substance and the words as found in connection with these human acts are temporal, created, fallible. This is the doctrine of the so-called Lafz al-Korân.

This Korân doctrine ⁴⁾ is strongly suggestive of Pantheism, for the Word of God as spoken to Moses, to Moḥammed and as found in the Korân is the One Word — not parts of it — coming to manifestation; just as the moon at its quarter may be called a particular manifestation of the moon, but not a part of the moon. The Pantheistic suggestion is much the same as that found in the Christian doctrine of the Logos, from Eternity resident in God, inseparable from a true conception of Deity, and proceeding to manifestation at the coming into being of Objective Existence.

1) cf. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 101.

2) Zahiriten, as in note 2, p. 185, especially p. 141, l. 18 ff.; cf. present work, pp. 32 ff.

3) cf. Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 117 f.

4) cf. von Kremer, Herrsch. Id. d. Isl., 41. On the whole much like the doctrine of al-Ash'ari, Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 118.

The Divine Unity. We are now prepared to consider the doctrine of the Divine Unity. Ahmed ibn Hanbal was firm in his belief in the unity of God ¹⁾, and, when we keep in view the doctrine of the Korân which we believe him to have adopted, it is easy to understand with what vigor and conviction he would resist the charge of polytheistic heresy which his opponents sought to fasten upon him. We may, by the way, notice his belief in the eternity of the Divine attributes ²⁾. His view, except in the case of the Divine Sovereignty and Knowledge, the attributes formally connected with the origin of the Korân, is stated but not elaborated in the sources to which I have had access. We have, however, in the case of the two attributes named sufficient data to enable us to arrive at his opinions. He stated, with all emphasis, that God could not exist without his Knowledge. And, though his adversaries declared that to make eternal and uncreated anything which was in thought separated from the bare idea of Deity was to make as many more deities as there were things so thought of ³⁾, Ahmed, taking the concrete view of an unphilosophical mind, could not think of Absolute Being, except as involving all the fulness of a perfect, or yet to be perfected, finite creature, and a finite creature he could not think of except as having attributes. The Absolute was the infinite correspondent and correlate of the perfect finite. *

The Anthropomorphic Attributes.

The same conviction evidently lay at the basis of Ahmed ibn Hanbal's faith in the anthropomorphic attributes given to Deity in the Korân ⁴⁾.

1) p. 106 infra. For the Mu'tazilite doctrine of the Divine Unity, vid. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 50.

2) pp. 90, 101 f., 139; cf. a slightly different view, von Kremer, *Herrsch. Id. d. Isl.*, 40 f.

3) For the Mu'tazilite view of the attributes of God, vid. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten* 50, 52, 59; Houtsma, *De Strijd* etc. 103, 124; Shahrastâni, *Haarbrücker's transl'n* I, 71.

4) p. 72; cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 186; von Kremer, *Herrsch. Id. d. Isl.* 41 f. (a more positive view).

Puzzled by philosophical arguments the untrained mind, though resting on the analogy of perfect human being, and holding fast to this as the undoubted ground and explanation of the Korân's anthropomorphisms, asserted its impotence to answer philosophizing objections by saying, 'He is even as he has described himself, I will say no more than this' ¹⁾. There was a much less arbitrary answer, which may not have been fully formulated in Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's mind any more than it was in that of Moḥammed himself, but which, had it been clear to the mind of either, would have seemed a blasphemy in its utterance, and would have involved inevitably a proof of the charge made by those who were arguing on the other side. This answer would have been to assert the literal truth of the Korân's anthropomorphisms. Aḥmed's belief was anthropomorphic. That was the simple fact ²⁾. And the Prophet's was not the less so. The principle on which Aḥmed formed his notion of Deity was essentially right, 'the absolute is the perfection and infinitude of the perfect finite'; but his opponents properly objected to the giving of accidents of human nature, which may or may not be found when the human creature is in other environments, to the Being in connection with whom to speak of accidents and environments would be paradoxical and contradictory.

The fact of the matter in relation to these anthropomorphic attributes is that Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal had to set himself up not only, as his own apologist, but, also, as the apologist of the Korân and the Prophet, and he knew that — at least, so it

1) cf. Dory, *Het Islamisme*, 136; an argument of the *Şifatiya*, Shahrastāni, Haarbrücker's transl'n, I, 95.

2) cf. Goldziher, *Zahiriya*, p. 133, l. 24 ff. The so-called negative position of Mālik ibn Anas and Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal in this connection is hard to understand (vid. Shahrastāni, Haarbrücker's transl'n, I, 97, 114 f.). Refusing to accept the figurative meaning of the anthropomorphic expressions, and yet insisting on the real force of these same expressions, as Aḥmed certainly did, how can passivity be conceived to exist in such minds? Insistence on the positive meaning, and yet not stating what the specific meaning was, though denying it to be figurative, leaves only anthropomorphism over.

seems to us. If Aḥmed had believed differently from the *Ḳorān* and Moḥammed, its human author, the case would have been a hard one for him; but anthropomorphism existed in higher quarters. Aḥmed had the Word of God to uphold, as well as his own theological character and he made the best defence that could be made under the circumstances. He asserted that God was describing himself, and who knew about himself more or better than he did? To such an argument there is no direct answer. One must follow the much more circuitous route of proving the apologist's conception of the *Ḳorān* revelation to be wrong, and once this is done the controversy on minor points would be time lost. The allegorical interpretation of the anthropomorphic expressions appears to be justly repudiated by any man who wishes to expound the *Ḳorān* according to the temper of the man who composed it, the temper of the men to whom it was first addressed, and the special intention actually present in the mind of Moḥammed, as far as this can be learned.

Ḳorān Interpretation. The step to the consideration of Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal's principle in the interpretation of the *Ḳorān* is not a great one ¹⁾. He believed that the *Ḳorān* was to be explained literally, except in cases where the Book itself indicated a limitation or modification of this method to be necessary, and in cases where a practical impossibility was involved. We say practical impossibility, for purely abstract necessity he was loth to admit as a regulating principle. There are so few ascertainable instances of allegorical interpretation on his part, that one can say that his general principle of hermeneutics governed him in dealing with the portions of the *Ḳorān* which might seem to some to be figurative. The indications of the Book itself and practical necessity would determine for him the application of the literal or some other method to such passages. In all cases

1) cf. his use of texts pp. 72, 90 f., 101 ff., 106, 139, 162 f. For the freer method of the Mu'tazila, v. Steiner, *Die Mu'taziliten*, 79.

where the literal method had to be given up the interpretation handed down in Tradition ever found favor with Aḥmed.

Extra-Korân

*Sources of
Doctrines.*

Closely allied with the interpretation of the Korân is the question as to the authoritative source of doctrine and rules of conduct, where the Korân fails to give sufficiently explicit directions. For Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal this lay in the Tradition. What had the Prophet said? What had the Prophet done? What had the Companions of the Prophet reported from him? Or, their Followers? Or, the second generation of Followers? What was the consensus of opinion and practice in the Muslim Communion? The admission of the Kiyâs or of Ra'y was generally opposed, but admitted where there was no better help to be found ¹⁾. His monumental work, the great collection of traditions called the Musnad, had for its declared purpose the furnishing, in all conceivable instances, of sound traditional arguments to those who might resort to it ²⁾. Its composition and the importance Aḥmed attached to it shew that Tradition next to the Word of God itself was the great rock on which he stood. Many testimonies go to prove that he was more tenacious of Tradition than any of the other doctors of his age ³⁾. We find that when he forgave his persecutors it was because of a traditional interpretation of a Korân verse ⁴⁾.

1) Goldziher, Moh. Stud. II, 217, note 4; Sachau, Zur Aeltesten Gesch. d. Moh. Rechts, 17; Houtsma, De Strijd etc. 91 f.; cf. Goldziher, Zahiriten, 20, note 1. Houtsma's words p. 92, l. 16 ff. seem to be too favorable to the Mu'tazila. Their interpretation of the Korân as far as the attributes of God, the anthropomorphic expressions regarding God, and the predestination passages are concerned was wholly figurative, and we know how large a part of the polemic which they waged was over these points. The name Rationalists, or Freethinkers, is justly applied to the Mu'tazila and implies that the Korân with them was authoritative, not absolutely or as far as practical necessity would admit, but only as far as the rational demands of human life and comfort and the fair requirements of human thought allowed.

2) p. 19.

3) Ibn Khaldûn, Proleg. III, 6; Goldziher, Zahiriten, 23, l. 25; Sachau, Zur Aeltesten Gesch. d. Moh. Rechts 15; cf. present work p. 16 f.

4) Abû Nu'aim, 1502, قال ابو الفضل دخلت على ابي يربا فقلت

The author of the *Hilya* relates that Aḥmed was angry with those who weakened under the test in the days of the Prophet, and in the *ḥadīth* of Abū Na'im, he follows up the incident with a tradition of the Prophet's Companions having been very angry when they were called upon to give up any part of their property (n 1). The author's purpose in introducing the tradition in this way, it stands, is to point out the analogy between Aḥmed's conduct and that cited, and to justify Aḥmed in view of what the Prophet's Companions had done. He may wish to intimate, also, that Aḥmed acted knowing this precedent, and was stimulated by it to feel as he did.

His interpretation of Tradition also leaned to the more rigorous view. A provision for relief in exceptional cases he often made imperative in such

له بلغنى ان رجلا جاء الى قُضْل الانماطى فقال له
اذ لم اقم بِنَصْرَتِكَ فقال فضل لا جعلتُ احدا في
وسكت فلما كان بعد ايام قال لى مَرَرْتُ بِهَذِهِ
وَأَصْلَحَ فَاجْرُهُ عَلَى اللَّهِ [Kor. 42. 38] فَتَنَظَرْتُ فِي تَفْسِيرِهِ فَقَالَ

ما حدثنى به هاشم بن القاسم قُتْنَا ابْنُ الْمُبَارَكِ حَدَّثَنِي مَنْ سَمِعَ
لِحَسَنِ يَقُولُ اِذَا جِئْتَ الْاَمَمَ تَيْنَ يَدَيِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ
نُودُوا لِيَقُمْ عَلَى اجْرِهِ عَلَى اللَّهِ فَلَا يَقُومُ اِلَّا مَنْ عَفَا فِي الدُّنْيَا قَالَ اِبْنُ
فَجَعَلْتُ الْمَتَّيْتِ فِي حِلٍّ مِنْ ضَرْبِهِ اِيَّايَ ثُمَّ جَعَلَ يَقُولُ وَمَا عَلَى
رَجُلٍ اِلَّا يَعْذِبُ اللَّهُ بِسَبِيهِ احدا

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدُ بْنُ فَضِيلٍ بْنُ غَزْوَانَ عَنْ 1) Abū Na'im, 147 a, عَنِ
الْوَلِيدِ بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ جَمِيعٍ عَنْ أَبِي سَلَمَةَ بْنِ عَبْدِ الرَّحْمَنِ
ابْنِ عَرَفٍ قَالَ كَانَ مِنْ أَصْحَابِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ مَنْ إِذَا
أُرِيدَ عَلَى شَيْءٍ مِنْ أَمْرِ دِينِهِ رَأَيْتُ حَمَالِيْقَ عَيْنِيهِ فِي رَأْسِهِ تَدْوِرُ
كَتِفَهُ مَجْنُونٍ

instances, even if the persons concerned had no wish to avail themselves of the dispensation or the cases were in detail not the same as that originally provided for in the tradition. Hence, what was meant to be a relief became, instead, a burden ¹⁾).

The Reason The belief he held in the merit of good works ²⁾ *for his* was so strong that a rigid exegesis of the Korân and *Method* of Tradition was the most natural thing to be expected of him. The same belief explains his persistent applica-

and for the tion of himself to a life of ascetic rigor and fasting ³⁾.

Manner of His love of the ascetic life, in its turn, throws light *his Life.* upon the mystic character of his piety and his faith

in dreams ⁴⁾. Solitude, hunger, and the absence of distracting comforts made the subjective life seem more real than the objective, and led Ahmed to feel an aversion to a life such as other men lived; for in such a life the reality of the interior world which he had created for himself was shattered, and mysticism with its revelry of religious imagination dissipated ⁵⁾.

1) For illustration of his rigorous interpretation, see Goldziher, *Zahiriten*, pp. 87, 88 f., 103 l. 20 ff.; cf. p. 141 infra; Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 250.

2) cf. p. 164 and note 1 infra. Houtsma, *De Strijd etc.* 85, says that the close adherence to the letter of the Korân on the part of the orthodox revived a strict conception of life such as was found especially among the Hanbalites. But we would call attention to the fact that there was at this time a deep current of popular sentiment favoring a stricter religious life, and this great tendency of the life of individuals and of society at large expressed itself in high views of the Korân and a rigid interpretation of its precepts. The stricter conception of the Korân then reacted and gave definite form to the life tendency of the nation and its members. It was the conception of life that affected the conception of the Book which was the rule of life, rather than otherwise. Such is my reading of the circumstances, but Houtsma's explanation will also find many advocates.

3) cf. *Abu'l-Mah.* I, 364, obituary notice of Yazîd ibn Abî Yazîd al-Azîdî, containing a reference to his ascetic life and imitation of Ahmed ibn Hanbal.

4) *al-Maqrîzî*, p. 18, *ولعل من كثير من السلف انهم رأوا الله تعالى*
في المنام كالامام ابى حنيفة والامام احمد بن حنبل رضى الله عنهما
 cf. pp. 92 f., 82.

5) *Abû Nu'aim*, 142, *بهران ابو محمد لابی* [Cod. inserts *لل*]

Reverence for Relics. This ascetic-mystic aspect of his character comprises a reverence for relics, which has found expression once or twice in the course of the preceding narrative ¹⁾.

Foreordination of Events. To one holding such views as those of which we have been speaking, the belief in a predestined order of life is the only explanation of human events. Ahmed appears to have held that there was no contingency, either in the actions which men do, or in the events through which they are called to pass ²⁾.

The Doctrine of Faith. The doctrine of Faith expounded by his friend Moḥammed ibn Aslam was, apparently, held by Ahmed ibn Ḥanbal, likewise. That is, that Faith is in the spirit, is expressed by the lips, and is confirmed by the acts. His declaration that discipline and trial would serve to increase his faith favors such a view ³⁾.

Ahmed's Attitude toward Patronage. His attitude toward patronage and favors on the part of rulers was that of an extremist, but there can be no doubt that his high con-

عندى خُفُّ اِبْعَثْ بِهِ اليك فسكت فلما عاد اليه ابو محمد قال
يا ابا محمد لا تَبْعَثْ بِالْخُفِّ فَقَدْ شَغَلَ قَلْبِي عَلَى

ورایت ابی یأخذ شعرة من شعر النبی، 144 a, Abū Nu'aim, 1) صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم فیضعها علی فیه یقبلها واحسب انی رايتہ
[یضعها علی عینیه ویغمسها فی الماء ثم یشربہ یشترقی بها Marg. ورايتہ] قد اخذ قصعة النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم فغسلها فی حَبّ
الماء ثم شرب فیها ورايتہ غیر مرة یشرب ماء زمزم یشترقی به
cf. p. 107. ویمسح به یلیدہ ووجهہ

2) note 2, p. 109; p. 151.

3) al-Makrizi, p. 12, زیادة وذلک عندی

The faith which was increased by his adversity appears to have been an inward exercise of the mind. cf. Moḥammed ibn Aslam's view p. 38 f.

ception of his vocation as a teacher led him to keep as clear of compromise as possible ¹⁾. Surramanra would become his prison, he said, were he to stay there and teach while, at the same time, receiving the fixed salary of the Khalif ²⁾. Ishâk ibn Râhawaih he said he would rebuke, if he ever saw him, for his truckling to the Emîr Abdallah ibn Tâhir ³⁾. The wilfulness of Aḥmed, doubtless, contributed to his opposition to a Court position; he was master of his own circle in his own way in Baghdâd, but at the Court such would have been impossible. And, then, his real hatred of easy and congenial conditions on the ground of religious principle presented a crowning obstacle ⁴⁾.

Aversion to Systematic Theology and his aversion to generalization and deduction and its Result. The character of Aḥmed as a traditionist, prevented him from leaving behind any system of opinions. We may formulate for him in these days, but he would not have been willing to do so. Hence, the uninfluential character of the Ḥanbalite school. Their master's teaching was unsystematic, and much ground was lost ere his spirit and teaching could be put before the world in such a form as to accomplish any powerful effect. His personality in his lifetime and after his death was a great force in the Muslim world; and the personality seems yet to be as powerful in its influence as the opinions which he enunciated, though his following has never been great in comparison with that of the other three orthodox Imâms.

1) p. 112 *infra*, p. 141; cf. attitude of Mâlik ibn Anas toward Hārūn al-Rashîd, von Hammer, *Lit. Gesch.* III, 101, 102.

2) p. 142.

3) p. 145.

4) On this whole subject, cf. Goldziher, *Moh. Stud.* II, 39.

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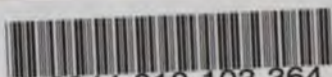
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CORRIGENDA.

- Page 3, line 5, Read Abi for Abû.
- " 4, " 3, " " " "
- " 19, n. 1, Read cf. p. 114 and p. 142.
- " 23, n. 2, last line, Read cf. Arabic, p. 97, l. 2 ff.
- " 28, line 6, Read al-Shâfi'i's for al-Shafi'i's.
- " 38, note, l. 4 infra, Read Shahrastâni for Shahrastâni.
- " 46, line 2, Read Ayûb ibn al-Najjâr.
- " 47, " 5, also Side-heading, Read al-Mu'tazili for al-Mu'talizi.
- " 53, last line, Read: made a jest.
- " 70, line 6, Dele comma after "Sa'dawaih".
- " 73, " 2, Read Muẓaffar for Muẓaffir.
- " 75, " 12 infra, Dele comma after "him".
- " 83, " 11 " Read طرسوس.
- " 96, " 10 " " يَعُود for يَعُود.
- " 102, " 4 " " وکانوا وکانوا.
- " 109, " 5 " " باسع باسع.
- " 172, " 17, Insert after "and":— confirmed their judgment.
- " 200, " 10 infra, Read al-Khabbâb for al-Khabâb.
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